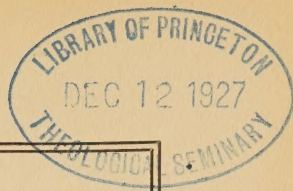


BM 560 .E5 1927  
Einstein, David G.  
The indestructible faith









*The*  
**INDESTRUCTIBLE  
FAITH**

*By*  
**DAVID G. EINSTEIN**



NEW YORK  
BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY  
*"The Jewish Book Concern"*  
1927

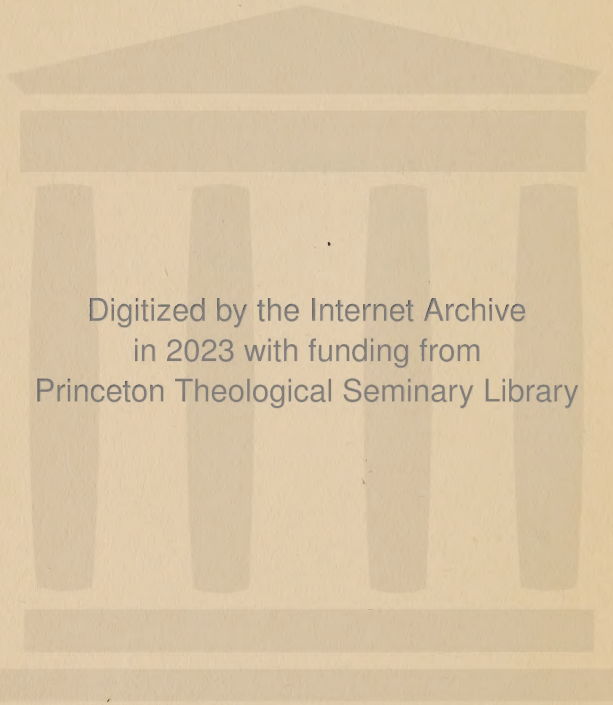
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TO MY MOTHER

ROSE BRESLER EINSTEIN

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## PREFACE

The following pages are written in the hope that they will instill a desire in the public mind for more knowledge in the history of Judaism and Christianity. The genetic relationship of these two religions, certainly, is but slightly known to the people. The education of both Jew and Gentile in their respective religions has been scriptural, in the main, and as such, the wide, determining, social and political influences which conditioned the growth and development of both faiths, have been lost to the people in the religious emphasis.

Man has experienced no movement or force in life without cause and effect. In many instances the effects have been weak and fruitless, and ultimately lost in the effects of bigger movements. The results or ends achieved in the clash of these bigger movements in life, Judaism, and Christianity—these in part invite our attention in the succeeding pages. Here we shall observe that the limited educational facilities of the past, the great zeal of the rabbis and church teachers for salvation, as well as the ill feeling engendered through the evolutionary struggle for mastery between Judaic and Greco-Roman concepts, not only hid the true relationship of all religious development from the masses but were reflected in the abnormal social and political concepts conceived against the Jews by the Christian world.

Events of the last quarter of the present century have wrought a tremendous change in our habits



of living and thinking. The change has been constantly in the making, but as always in the past, these changes are focused and climaxed for us in momentous events. Such was our experience in the World War. As a result of the present changes in our thinking habits, life has a broader and deeper significance for us. This significance manifests itself, in the public mind, in a shift in the animus toward the Jews. It is this shift that constitutes the subject matter of the first chapter of this book. The origin of scientific anti-Semitism, and the militancy of the rising generation of Jews are treated in the succeeding two chapters. After discussing the Jew as an alien, the author considers the value to the world of the Jews' renunciation of their faith. He then contrasts the vital political and social features which have conditioned the religious aspects of both Judaism and Christianity, as well as the vital need for their present-day co-operation. The next chapter traces the development of fundamental habits of the Jews, particularly their financial and commercial acumen. At times, this faculty is said to have a physical basis. The author, however, finds the capacity, such as it is, is wholly of social origin, primarily a matter of habit formation. The concluding chapter treats of Judaism as the indestructible faith.

I take this occasion to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. J. H. Lewis for his assistance in correcting the manuscript and to Miss Myrtle Babette Porges for her many valuable suggestions and help in reading proofs of the manuscript.

DAVID G. EINSTEIN

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## CHAPTER I

### THE SHIFT IN THE ANIMUS TOWARD THE JEW

**H**ISTORIANS like to consider modern society as commencing with the age of Alexander the Great—the period in history when European and Asiatic cultures first definitely meet and fuse. It not only affords a convenient and well established period from which history may be dated, but it likewise marks a great crisis in the social and political development of man. This is the period in history when all earlier thought and modes of life appear to have crystalized into a permanent form. The effect of Alexander's age was so profound, and so lasting, that our current political and social, our economic and religious thinking still remains a continuation of the thought and culture of his time. It is from this period, virtually, that our modern world has developed.

And so far as arbitrary historical classification is possible, we may characterize the development of all society as revealing three dominant aspects or desires on man's part: first, territorial or political domination; secondly, religious fervor or hatred;

and thirdly, the fear of cultural opposites markedly expressing itself in what we now call anti-Semitism. It is particularly since the age of Alexander that modern society has developed along the paths of these three major cycles: they still dominate all contemporary life.

But it must not be understood that these three major movements have operated in the world independently of each other. Rather is the contrary true: they have always been interpenetrating. At certain periods, however, one or the other of these major objects has become the impelling and moving force of the time; its pursuit has shaped and determined the history of the age. It is well for us to note that all three stages have a common background in their development—warfare; for underlying warfare in all ages has been the innate and primal desire or want of the people.

The historic antagonism of mankind toward the Jew was primarily a development of the centuries following the Alexandrian era. Then it was that the immemorial feeling of animosity toward the Jew became charged with a hatred, a bitterness that has continued to this day. It was the pursuit of the dominant aspects or purposes of man, in a new age, which intensified this spirit of antagonism. As the various forces of society clashed in their evolutionary struggles for supremacy, the Jew was found to be hopelessly involved in the unending struggles, with an ever increasingly bitter antagonism manifested against him. Regardless of what age or the



cycle in which the world was progressing, the prominence of the Jew involved him in its struggles. Our present purpose is to seek in each of the above-mentioned major movements of society the cause or causes that produce this spirit of hostility and antagonism toward the Jew.

The first big cycle in the development of modern life was the Alexandrian period of territorial aggrandizement or conquest—a process characterized by the stronger of two neighbors subjugating the weaker. This was a period of intended territorial and only incidentally of political domination. It was still bred out of man's primitive instinct for warfare; his quest for booty, food, and slaves. And although the conquests of Alexander wiped out much of the then existing social life and built a foundation upon which later life could stand, they were none the less inspired by the love of mastery. This cycle of the right of the strong to obliterate the weak, in an Alexandrian uniformity of life, happily appears to be fast rounding its course in this day. The weak, at least, are now accorded a measure of recognition in the determination of their end.

In this stage, the Jew occupied a tiny strip of territory between the desert and the sea. To the south-east of Judea lay Arabia; to the north-east stretched Persia, and on its south-west border lay Egypt. It was a dry and arid land of little productive nature, but composed of a series of hills and highlands of some military strategic value. Hemmed in on all sides by powerful battling foes, Judea was

constantly thrust into warfare, either to protect herself or to give that assistance which by treaty she was bound to lend to Persia or Egypt, as the case might be; and the armies of these powers never hesitated to cross Judean boundaries when attacking each other. Too small to protect herself, Judea formed alliances with one or the other nation, thus becoming the pawn of the shifting fortunes of battle between these neighbors. Little it mattered which one triumphed, since the Jews and the country fell victim to the conqueror. More particularly, however, it was the constant pressure and menace from the mighty Persian and Babylonian Empires that constantly bore down on them. Their territory and riches, their lack of numbers, were constant invitations to the mighty and powerful early Eastern Empires, in which the lust for conquest and power dominated.

Throughout the first stage of the beginning of modern society, the history of any people—but especially of weaker nations—is the struggle to defend and protect its territories against the aggression of its powerful neighbors. This is well illustrated by the enormous extent of the Alexandrian Empire, the aim of which was the subjection of the entire civilized world then known. This situation was not peculiar to the Jews—all small nations were destroyed sooner or later; it was true of Judea. The vital difference was that while the Jews suffered the same fate territorially as all other nations of the period, they could yet maintain a cul-

tural and religious life of their own, a thing the other nations were unable to do. And while religious feeling and antagonism were not wanting throughout this period, they proved neither the dominant nor provoking causes of attacks upon weaker and smaller countries. The extent to which political, economic, social, or religious factors were dominant, varied; they depended upon the conditions and needs of the Empire, and on the character of its rulers.

It is not to be understood that during this period no nations were at peace with one another. On the contrary, there were many nations in happy accord; but the all absorbing and controlling force of the age—that which controlled and determined the history of the then civilized world—was the spirit of dominant conquest. This spirit the Persian and Alexandrian Empires possessed.

For modern life, the height of this first period of territorial conquest was reached in the Age of Alexander.

Alexander personified the spirit of conquest. Ruthlessly he utilized the power of his Empire to crush his neighbors. His conquests, however, were tempered by a definite and clear cultural design. He would have amalgamated the world in one common culture. It is this Alexandrian policy, as his successors developed it, that has colored and influenced all society down to the present day.

Following this period of territorial or political domination and control, there developed, in the later

Alexandrian Age, the second period out of which modern society has sprung—a period in which the impelling and moving passion was the conquest of countries and worlds for religion. It was a period of religious fanaticism, of hatred, reaching its culminating point in an organized political effort to exterminate unbelievers.

Religious psychology from the time of earliest primitive man has been a mighty factor in his mental make-up. Just as soon as man conceived and developed a religion or religious psychology, some men thought that their religion was better than all other religions; and that the man who did not profess the same god as himself was an enemy, and that he was not only opposed to his god, but also opposed to him. This second period grew particularly important when man conceived and developed a religion of dogma and revelation. So firmly did he then become imbued with his religious convictions that he judged the unbeliever to be bereft of rights, and to be treated with utter disregard and impunity. In time he felt justified; felt that he was right in the eyes of God to force his religion upon his neighbor, even to the point of killing him, if the neighbor refused to accept it. Out of such thinking developed the greatest of modern wars of religion, or the conquest of peoples for religion. It is this mode of thought that we understand when we speak of Mohammedanism as the religion of the sword. Why? Because Mohammed was possessed with the idea that he was God's prophet and, as such, appointed

to carry Islamism to the rest of the world, even by the sword. This he did. Under Mohammedanism you needs must follow the faith of Mohammed or be exterminated; and the Mohammedan follower believed it his duty, he believed he was acting right and actually serving the cause of the Almighty by exterminating the non-believer.

Christianity adopted the same idea of the right of religion to make conquests. The great Charlemagne, instigated and entreated by the Fathers of the Church, used the sword to carry Christianity to the barbarians of Europe. And throughout the Middle Ages, Christians were engaged in the selfsame task of transmitting their religion to barbarians and infidels until a climax was reached in the Crusades against the Saracens. Under Christianity, however, religious differences gradually became the instruments through which warfare for political and economic domination was waged.

But neither Mohammedanism nor Christianity made the first political effort to spread religion by the sword. With them the principle of spreading religion by the sword, whether for political or religious causes, reached its climax, but they themselves had been guided by a precedent many centuries old.

Religious persecution, for Jew and Christian alike, had its beginnings with the death of Alexander the Great when, upon the break-up of his Empire, one of his later successors, Antiochus Epi-



phanes, attempted to exterminate Judaism, under the guise of political Hellenism. The effort of Antiochus to make religious persecution a state doctrine and to invoke the power of the state in exterminating non-believers, is of particular importance to Jews. It served as the precedent in later history for both Mohammedan and Christian.

Prior to Alexander the Great, Asia had been under the control of now one power, now another, each victorious nation not only seeking to impose its culture and civilization upon the conquered people, but forcing them to pay tribute and reducing them to subjection. These various civilizations possessed their own characteristics, but none of them, prior to the time of Alexander, developed into a common world culture; nor did they possess sufficient military power to hold all parts of their empires in peace and their peoples in subjection for any length of time. The conquest of Alexander inaugurated a new life for the world. Not only did the conquest of lands for lust reach its height during his age, but it also heralded this second stage of religious persecution and warfare in the historical development of modern society.

Throughout Alexander's life the Jews lived in peace. At the outset of the siege of Tyre, Alexander called upon the Jews to renounce their allegiance to Persia. This they refused to do. Alexander, who was somewhat religious, granted the Jews the privilege of living under their own laws and customs, though owing him political and military allegiance.

His policy of binding his Empire by Greek culture little influenced the Jews at the time, but this policy carried out by his successors vitally affected the history of the Jews as it did that of all other civilized peoples.

It was only after the death of Alexander that the full effect of the inauguration of the conquest of peoples and their countries, in the cause of religion, was felt by the Jews. Now for the first time, the people were to experience an organized, political, religious persecution, which would bear evidence throughout all ages, to this day. Antiochus Epiphanes, who in the first quarter of the second century before Jesus succeeded to the Syrian Empire—then the most important state of the earlier Alexandrian Empire—was determined to secure religious conformity throughout the Syrian Empire.

At the root of Antiochus' efforts was Hellenism—that empiricism or mode of life which resulted from the fusion of both Greek and Asiatic cultures.

In this fusion Greek culture predominated. In fact, Hellenism was Greek culture, tinged with Oriental life. Under Hellenism, as interpreted and followed by Antiochus, religious persecution became the determined and avowed policy of the state. Judea, which had been politically a part of Alexander's Empire, upon the break-up of the Empire unfortunately fell under the sway of Syria.

Immediately upon the assumption of power, Antiochus made religious persecution a Syrian state

doctrine. Thenceforth, warfare or the conquest of countries for the spread of religion by the sword has been known in many lands as a political doctrine. If, however, the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes inaugurated the first religious state persecution on a vast scale which has left its mark upon modern life, it was also the age that saw the birth of the right of religious liberty of conscience, even against the state. The revolt of the Jews under Judas Maccabeus—against the iniquity and oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes—in what is known as the Maccabean Revolt, stands to this day as the beacon-light to all religious freedom.

The third important stage in the development of modern society commenced with the era of commercial supremacy, the era so prolific of warfare. In the commercial era the natural resources of the world became available to man. It was this unfolding of the hidden wealth of the earth that entirely changed man's desires and wants. It is the struggle for the satisfaction of these wants that characterizes present modern-day life. In other words, when man developed a social standard, a diversification of wants, of things he desired, and when he manifested a concerted effort to obtain them, we reached what today we call commercial life. For all life is but the desire to satisfy human wants. In commercial life, the political and religious concepts were subordinated, except in so far as they became pretexts for commercial expansion.

This third period of development cognizantly be-

gan for us with the use of money as a medium for commercial relations. Barter and exchange as a trade medium never possessed the psychological effect on mankind that gold and silver has; and this has continued from that time through the periods of such epochal inventions as the printing press, the spinning jenny, and the steam engine, down through all the social, political, economical, and religious renaissances or awakenings, to the present day.

It was in this later period of development of modern society—the commercial age—that feeling against the Jew was to take on a definite and accentuated aspect, that of anti-Semitism. It was a policy forced upon the world by rulers who used the writings of their subjects for their own political and commercial advantage. It was this age of commercialism, so prolific of warfare, that gave rise to nationalism and anti-Semitism. But these we shall discuss later.

With this brief review of the three great periods that characterize the development of modern society, it must be clear to all that in this day Jews are not disliked because of their territorial possessions. Whether or not the rise of Zionism is to precipitate this as a factor in future thought is at present uncertain. That it has some such possibility is apparent.

It was but the primal desire for conquest and the possession of supposed riches, that inspired the territorial subjugation of the Jew. From his earli-

est traditions the Jew had been a trader. In fact, trading in him was born out of the non-productive soil he occupied. In order to live the Jew must trade, and under the natural biological processes of life he acquired the art of trading. Now, being traders, the Jews were believed to have accumulated great riches and wealth. Their supposed riches at this period were not only a constant menace to themselves—in holding out to their neighbors the hope that they might wrest riches from the Jew—but this notion of the wealth and riches of the Jew conceived in those remote times has persisted even to this day. “Rich as a Jew” is a common expression still, notwithstanding the fact that the great mass of Jews live in abject poverty. Although religious feeling was not the dominant force during this period of territorial conquest, there yet existed a smouldering religious psychology against the Jew which was to assume gigantic proportions in the Hellenic Age, and which has persisted to this day.

Now what induced this early religious antipathy?

From the earliest period of their history the Jews had set forth the claim that they were a chosen people; that the Almighty had designated them as the elect on earth; and that a preference had been accorded them over all mankind. The very statement of the claim must have invited opposition. But the feeling of hatred and prejudice which arose even in those early days possessed none of the violence and bitterness it was to assume in later ages. At the outset this Judaic conception en-



countered little opposition, for most religious beliefs were then accepted through fear, and superstition and magic also played their parts. The heathen who worshipped the stone in the road as his god did not, however, believe that his god preferred any other man above himself. In fact he thought that his god was all-powerful and hence could protect him against all other gods, including the God of the Jews.

Undoubtedly, the concept of the Jews that they were the "chosen people" was more generally accepted before the rise of Hellenism than thereafter. With the ancient Greek or Hellenic world the Jews had little contact. In those days Greek life had not reached the Eastern World. This had to await the coming of Alexander. And though the Jews had suffered captivity both under the Persian and Babylonian monarchs, neither state attempted to defile or suppress the religious beliefs of the Jews. Moreover, the heathen world was a polytheistic one wherein the heathen worshipped many gods; hence the Jewish concept of being a chosen people was not particularly offensive to the people of that day, since they looked upon the God of the Jews as but one of the many gods. In fact, they thought themselves the chosen people of their god.

It was only when the Jew advanced to the position of the Unity of God that he aroused hatred and prejudice in the heathen. Now he was in direct clash with their gods. His God, the God of the Jews,

was exalted above all other gods and this, coupled with the Jews' additional claim of being the "chosen people" of the Supreme or only God, established the prejudice and feeling of modern life.

With the rise of Hellenism a new aspect arose in reference to the Judaic ideal of a chosen people. The Hellenistic world would not accept the concept of the Jews that they were the "chosen people," and that it was to their nation that God would reveal Himself in all His saving power. Nor did the Hellenistic world accept the Judaic concept of the Unity of God; on the contrary, it violently opposed the concept of the Unity of God as claimed by the Jews and in its place enthroned its mythological gods. Ultimately, under the Romans, a concept of the Unity of God was born in their deification of the Emperor. However, it was rather a political god that both the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman Empires espoused than the ethical and spiritual God of the Jews. The Judaic concept of God conflicted with the destiny-making gods of the Hellenistic Age, and gradually there arose an organized opposition to Judaic teachings. It was this age which, under the instruments of force, mythology and emperor worship, crystallized an intelligence in the heathens which effectively opposed the concept of the Jews that a universal One and only God had selected them as a chosen people.

The full fruit of this concept of a chosen people now linked up with the unity or universality of God was to come into more vital contact and opposition

with the birth of Christianity than it had met under Hellenism. Then for the first time was the concept of the Jews, that they were a chosen people, to be rigorously challenged from within their own ranks, and then was the feeling of hatred and prejudice, already sowed, to be given a form and content which it has maintained down to the present day. Strange as it may seem, it was Judaism itself which gave birth to its most bitter oppressor.

The Jew, however, of the pre-Testament time and of the post-apostolic age, the age immediately following the death of Jesus, was not subjected to the vile and bitter religious persecution he has since known. Nor were the Christians of the time very urgent in their denunciation of the Jews for the death of Jesus. In this period the death of Jesus was still in doubt; in fact it bore little significance. What criticism there was, viewed his death as a misunderstanding rather than a crime. At least at the outset, the Christians lamented the supposed failure of their Jewish kinsmen to accept the Messiah, instead of blaming them for the death of Jesus. It is with the coming of Paul and the part the crucifixion of Jesus assumes in his doctrine of salvation, that significance is attached to the Jews in the death of Jesus. This attitude became more accentuated in the later polemic and controversial attacks of the Christian writers.

Religious prejudice and feeling against the Jew, as we know it today, crystallized when the Hellenistic world joined hands with the early Palestinian Jews

and accepted the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as preached by Jesus and the Jewish apostles. But in this there was no struggle against the God of the Jews; for they believed Jesus to be the prophetic or revealed Jewish Messiah, and in entire accord with the ancestral God of the Jews. Gradually, however, the aspect of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God widened, under the teachings of the apostle Paul, until it developed into a denial of the Jewish concept of a chosen people. As this view developed and spread among the peoples of the world, and the Jews continued their refusal to accept Jesus, in spite of his growing reverence by mankind, his most devout and ecstatical followers were led to hate and detest those who were unable to accept him. It remained, however, for the church in its quest of empire, centuries after the birth of Jesus, to bring the full wrath and prejudice of modern-day religious feeling against the Jew. Then were the Jews to be subject to bulls and anathemas; then was religious passion to be fanned into hatred and fanaticism; then was the Jew to be pictured in the most vile and blasphemous aspects so as to serve the growing religious power of the church, which it used in turn to gain an empire.

That the Jew has always held in his mind the ideal of a chosen people has been his salvation, as well as that of mankind. It was his willingness to bear persecution, make sacrifices, and endure centuries of torture and vilification that made possible the advent of Christianity. Modern-day thought has

little realization of the debt it owes the Jews because of their tragic struggle to preserve the One true God. For a small number of people to stand in defiance of millions of neighbors who mocked their concept of God and assailed them physically and socially because of their unwillingness to accept their many gods and mystery cults, it was necessary that these people should have an imperishable ideal. This they found in their concept of the chosen people, charged with the sacred mission of carrying the concept of the Unity of God and His commandments unto all peoples.

Has the world today any such concept of debt and gratitude?

There were added reasons why the Jew was disliked in earlier days. These reasons were outgrowths or parts of their religious concepts. They affected the social relations of the Jews with their neighbors and hence brought them into violent dislike. These objections were their refusal to intermarry with other races and their dietary laws. The preservation of the Jew and of his ideals were dependent upon the preservation of his individualism. Like all peoples, the Jew possessed the natural instinct to maintain his race, and when to this was added his conviction of his covenant with God to maintain unto all men His unity and the worship of the One true God, he realized the result, the loss of his race and ideals, were he, a small disunited people, to amalgamate and intermarry with other races.

To have intermarried with other races in early



history would have meant not only the loss of their individualism as a race, but also the loss and absorption of their ideals in the anthropomorphism, or ever changing gods of the heathen world. It would have meant the loss of Christianity to the world of today. The Christian world of today cannot believe that the Jew was in error in seeking the preservation of his ideals; nor is it likely that the Christian world of today censures the Jew for the course he has pursued in the past. It must realize that without the Jew having pursued that course, there would have come to it no Jesus.

The dietary laws of the Jews, originally conceived as measures of sanitation and prevention, soon assumed for them the rigidity and fixity of religious customs. And this became increasingly true as the Jews came in contact with the peoples of the world and their religious habits and customs were threatened. Above all, the Jew of the ancient world early disclosed a practical nature, and to make certain that the worship of the One true God would not be lost and that no breach in his covenant with the Almighty would occur, he buttressed his refusal to intermarry by refusing to maintain intimate family or social relations with the heathen world. This was his sure way of preserving for mankind the ideals which today constitute Christian life. It is idle to consider the refusal of the Jew to intermarry with other races as due to a natural dislike of them, or to the fact that he believed them inferior or less welcome in the eyes of the Lord. The Jew readily



intermarried with those few races that embraced Judaism. The paramount thought of the Jew was to preserve monotheism, or the belief in the Unity of God. No censure is due the Jew for this course of the past; praise and homage should be offered him instead.

During the rise of Christianity, the dietary laws were common knowledge both to the Jews and early Christians and were practiced by both at the outset. In the ever-widening breach between Judaism and Christianity, the Jews insisted upon their observance, while the Jewish Christians gradually ignored them, thus severing the most vital contact in social life: the common meal. The hygienic value of the dietary laws never met with acceptance either on the part of the heathen world or Christianity; and in the main they have operated but as a social barrier between the Jews and the rest of the world.

These objections, however, are seen today in a new light both by Jew and Gentile. But again it required the great catastrophe of 1914 to present all of these aspects in a light heretofore unseen. Irrespective of what virtues the Jews may have possessed, they could never overcome the feeling of hatred and dislike engendered through their misunderstood ideals, their claim to be a chosen people, their refusal to intermarry and to break bread with their neighbors. There was, however, a slow and tedious process of education and enlightenment to which this feeling of hatred and dislike was gradually yielding. Yet it required some great catastrophe in these modern

days to force this process into the open, into the concrete, and bring alike to the Christian and the Jewish world the true relationship of religion to man. This the World War did through its democratization of religion.

With the war came the democratization of religion; and with the democratization of religion came a great awakening to mankind. Never before had the pettiness of religious differences appeared so useless. It was found that in great moments, when a common death impends, religion means very much the same to us all. It was then we learned that the priest could chant his prayers over the dying Jew, and that the rabbi could suffer death to hold the crucifix over the dying Catholic. For the first time the differences in religion became apparent. Now it was observed that only in details, in the versification of ritual, in ceremonials, and in the symbols was there a difference in religions. In the conscious realization of death, the Almighty appeared as one to both Christian and Jew. The dying Jew had no fear of Jesus, and the dying Christian feared not the God of the Jews. Out of the sacrifices of the war came a leveling process. Not only did the war tend to weld us socially and religiously, but it forever destroyed the question of this or that religion being the better; and in its place it gave mankind a new vision or perspective of religion: the betterment of man. Henceforth, all religions must tend toward the betterment of mankind.

The democratization of religion tends to exem-

plify and particularize our social values. From the democratization which has come to religion as a result of the World War, there has been no greater development than the realization on the part of the masses that technical, dogmatic, ritualistic religion must extend, must broaden out to meet actual social wants and conditions; that both the religious and social consciousness of the world have awakened to this fact is acknowledged in the shift which has taken place in the animus toward the Jew. The Christian world no longer holds in contempt or ridicules the Jew because of his religion; but henceforth weighs the Jew, as it does all other peoples, by his social values. It is asking itself: What are Jews contributing to the good of the state? What betterment comes to society or mankind through their efforts? These are questions confronting the Jew today as they do all other men. It is his answer to these questions, not alone by word, but by deeds and acts, that will give him his future status.

It is vitally essential, however, that the Christian world, in estimating the social values of the Jews, should possess some knowledge of the earlier growth and development of their social and commercial habits. Untenable is the thought that their successful habits of life are but the result of stealth and chicanery. This thought is born out of the earliest feelings of religious hatred, later supplemented by trade rivalry, and also out of a lack of definite knowledge of how the Jews have undergone an intensive growth and development of commercial capacity.

The Christian world must learn that the successful habits of the Jews in trade and finance, are the results of a long decreed and long enforced course of commercial activity, until the often repeated and unsuccessful efforts gradually evolved into habits of a beneficial character.

## CHAPTER II

### ANTI-SEMITISM

THE third great epoch in the development of modern society is the commercial-political era—the age in which we are living. The early part of this period was primarily controlled by political factors; the latter part, down to the present day, is controlled by the commercial or trade development aspects. In this epoch the political and commercial features have, however, complemented each other. And while on the surface it was apparently the success of political policies that was sought, these political policies, especially since the time of the industrial revolution which introduced our present-day factory system, were either predicated upon or associated with commercial expansion. This later feature became especially prominent in the nineteenth century when the political spirit of nationalism in Germany crystallized under the strength and guise of trade development. The association of these two features became more marked after the introduction of the mechanical revolution in the nineteenth century which gave to the world

the steam-engine—that instrument of science which brought the remote parts of the world into our communication. It is this later nineteenth century political-commercial development that gave rise to anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism in its new dress is a German production. It is an outgrowth in the development of the Germanic conception of nationalism. The Germanic theories of nationalism at the close of the eighteenth century stood alone. Nowhere else in the world did similar conceptions or theories of nationalism exist. Here the struggle for nationalism was permeated by two thoughts: one was the egotism of the people; the other, the theory of political state. This egotism which affected their whole thinking in literature, art, culture, and religion was the result of the eminence achieved by Germany's scientific men of the eighteenth century. The names of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Herder, and Schleiermacher stood as monuments in the intellectual world, and as this list of eminent thinkers grew in the nineteenth century, an already smouldering consciousness of a mighty, intellectually superior race became clear in the literature, art and philosophy of Germany. While this consciousness of intellectual superiority was gradually being absorbed by the people at the close of the eighteenth century, a second egotistical thought of superiority took root as a result of Prussian success in the overthrow of Napoleon—that of military prowess. This latter concept, however, was a future development and only reached an ulti-



mate recognition in the minds of the people at the close of the Franco-Prussian war.

The basis of this nineteenth century Germanic thought of race superiority lay in the teachings of their erudite scientist, Herder. In the latter half of the eighteenth century both Herder and Goethe had already felt the germ of race superiority. Though the science of craniometry—the measurement of skulls—had to await the work of Retzius (1842) for a metrical formula under which the various skulls of mankind might be classified, the guiding principles of the science had long been established. Already in 1770 the manuscript of Peter Camper disclosed, as a result of his investigation, the different “facial angle” he found existing in various races of man; and in 1781 Blumenbach divided mankind on the basis of skull formation and color—on the theory of types—into the five great races. To this physical world as well as to his own experimental work in anthropology, Herder added his philosophic concepts of race and habits.

Herder conceived the thought that the intellectual and emotional life of each people is predicated or based on its physical structure; that its literature, language, culture, as well as religious thinking result from such physical characteristics.

He maintained that there existed a difference in physical structure between the Semitic and Teuton or Germanic race; that this difference in physical structure was responsible for a culture and religion

on the part of the Semitic people different from that of the Germanic; that wherever these two races crossed it resulted in a degeneration of the Teuton; that the most illustrious people of the Semitic type were the Jews; and that they were aliens, bound to an alien law—the Semitic. With this theory as his premise he contended it was constitutionally impossible for the Semitic people, people of a different race, to be absorbed into Germanic culture and thought. Herder fought all fusions and imitations, and bade the German writers be true to themselves and adhere to their national antecedents.

The Mendelssohnian movement in Germany about this time found the Jews in a dispirited and desolate state. Like all people fettered and chained, life exhibited little interest for them. They were intellectually, socially, and spiritually stagnant. Their only life-giving force was their hope in salvation; in this they took refuge. Mendelssohn realized that the regeneration of the Jew must come from within himself. He would bring them in touch with the thought and society of the day. He would bring them in contact with the social, moral, intellectual, and spiritual life of the rest of mankind. It was a tremendous revitalizing progressive movement he sought. Much of Judaism could not be shaken loose from its ancient moorings and practices. The light could not penetrate the darkness which centuries of persecution and social ostracism had only the more intensively cultivated. It was inevitable that a struggle should ensue between this new ecstatic

force and the old slave-like habits of the Jews. This movement, however, revealed the pitiful intellectual and cultural slump which had overtaken the Jews. Notwithstanding the deplorable state of Judaism at the time of the Silesian Wars, the need of Frederick the Great for money to carry on his military campaigns had forced him into an association or relationship with the Jews of Berlin. Here through their commercial industry and speculations they had acquired enormous riches, for those days. Berlin saw the growth of many Jewish millionaires and their development into a strong industrial as well as capitalistic group. These Jews had demanded the rights of citizenship.

The request of the protected Jews for the rights of citizenship, and the whole Mendelssohnian movement, became the object of a violent attack by Schleiermacher, a German mystical thinker, who exhibited a vile and intense hatred for all Judaism. Hatred of Judaism was the basis of his creed. He denied that any genetic connection existed between Judaism and Christianity. Since the Jews would not give up their hope in the Messiah he would deny them the rights of citizenship, and would tolerate them only as a special sect. Schleiermacher and his school of metaphysical jargon reached far beyond the confines of Germany; particularly that part spread which called the Jews strangers and declared that because of their character and history it was impossible for them to be absorbed into the body politic. As though to overfill the cup of hatred for

the Jews in Germany at this time, Goethe exhibited an intense feeling against them, and the philosopher Fichte not only opposed their emancipation but on the contrary favored the cutting off of their heads. On such soil did Herder's doctrine ripen.

To maintain Herder's theory of German superiority over all mankind in culture and race, the Jew was physically and mentally thrust into the arena. He was the most favored type of man and yet the most vulnerable in attack. To establish Germanic race superiority, the history of the Jew must be destroyed. Yes, as Herder declared, destroyed, though in utter disregard of all humane principles; not because the Jew had proposed to set himself up as superior to the rest of mankind but because the Teuton had. Here lay the root of anti-Semitism.

A cultural and theological attack upon the Jews was not new. It could not survive. For thousands of years the Jewish religion had stood the test. In fact, it has been the mother to all the great modern-day religions; to attack Judaism, moreover, was like attacking oneself. There was always an inconsistency in the attack; always something that lacked clarity and decision; always something that lacked finality. This was especially true when it was sought to attack the theology of Judaism, as the school of Schleiermacher has since learned. But now for the intellectuals a more settled and scientific explanation was at hand. The observations of Blumenbach and Camper and particularly Herder's studies in anthropology were available. They had

tended to show a difference in the physical development of the Semitic and Indo-European races. The dissimilarity, it was claimed, appeared in a long shaped skull of the Semitic, and in a round skull in the Indo-European or Aryan race. It was also claimed that the Indo-European was light-skinned, blue-eyed, and fair-haired, while but 10 per cent of the Jews shared these characteristics. Under Herder's philosophy of the development of the habits of man, these supposed physical differences in structure were now seized upon as the basis for the new attack.

The background of anti-Semitism as revealed in the attack was not new. It was the old feeling against the Jewish concept of a chosen people; against their refusal to particularize Deity; against their social customs; against their reluctance to intermarry outside their faith. The belief that they killed Jesus, a belief that has particularly appealed to the unknowing masses, as well as their tremendous grasp of commercial life, intensified this feeling. These characteristics of Jewish life are now seized, under Herder's doctrine of a physically and constitutionally alien people, as demonstrating a different culture and emotionalism.

What is significant about anti-Semitism, however, is the shift in attack. The attack is no longer founded on a dogmatic or religious critique of the theology of Judaism, such as Schleiermacher and his school had expounded, but instead assumes the form of ascribing a physical cause for the Jew's religious and social



emotionalism. To repeat: That argument proceeds in the following way. There exists, it is assumed, a physical difference between the cranial structures of the Semitic and Aryan peoples. Because of this structural difference, the Jew steadfastly continues to adhere to his religion and culture. As a further result of this difference in physical structure there is an inherent inferiority in the religious and cultural development of the Jew to that of the Aryan. And the crossing of these races results in the deterioration of Aryan civilization. Hence, the Semitic race must be regarded as a foreign, non-assimilative, and alien people.

This was already the scientific racial thought in Germany at the close of the eighteenth century. At the time of Herder's concept of racial history, Darwin's theory of the descent of man—the theory that mankind, irrespective of race or color, is descended from a common ancestor, was unknown. While Lamarck, at the opening of the nineteenth century, had vaguely introduced the subject, it was not until the publication of Darwin's work in 1871 that the subject of evolution definitely became fixed in men's minds. The idea of racial supremacy, however, was already in the German consciousness at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But Germany's insignificant political position on the continent at this time, the brilliancy of the French Revolution, and the military strength of her neighbors, Austria and Russia, all tended to hold the theory of racial superiority in the background. Something was nec-

essary before this smouldering consciousness of racial superiority could flare into a national enthusiasm; this something was not long in appearing.

The second feature of Germanic egotism which contributed to modern German nationalism—that of martial prowess—the foundations of which were laid under Frederick the Great, burst forth at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. It was the Prussian military aid and success against Napoleon that supplied the force needed to develop Herder's theory. With the success of Prussian arms against Napoleon, the two elements which characterized the egotism of modern nationalism—racial intellectual superiority and martial prowess—became rooted in the German consciousness. Herder's discoveries were now more than theories. They were considered facts.

At the outset of the nineteenth century, German nationalism mainly rested on Herder's supposed theory of the intellectual superiority of the Teuton over the rest of mankind. Though already felt in Prussia, the theory of martial prowess was in its infancy. It remained for this theory to reach its full development through the unification of Germany. Having come to birth, the spirit of German nationalism now demanded its concrete expression in the unification of Germanic states. To further this, the students of the University of Jena, as early as 1806, founded a society called the Burschenschaft, whose expressed object was the development of a national patriotism and the exaltation of a common fatherland. This came to a final pass on the termination of the

Franco-Prussian war. Thus by commercial expansion, by successful warfare, and by the teachings of its philosophers of Germanic superiority over mankind, together with the later deification of the state, did Prussia unite all Germany into the modern German political state of militarism.

The treaty of Vienna disappointed the liberals of the various Germanic states. They had hoped for a constitutional form of government similar to that of England, but were disappointed in their expectations. Notwithstanding the fact that Frederick William III, King of Prussia, had explicitly promised a constitution, the reactionary movement in Europe had already made itself felt by 1818 among the leaders of the Germanic states. The policy of Metternich, who held parliaments and popular assemblies in abhorrence, had already sufficiently influenced Prussia to make her a full partner in the reactionary movements. The Carlsbad Decrees stamped the triumph of the reaction in Germany and made Metternich conqueror of the Germanic Confederation. The year 1819, notable for the persecution of the liberals, witnessed the reaction in full sway. Austria under Metternich led the way, with the Prussian king, a dolesome follower, lending full support.

Though the reaction which followed Napoleon's downfall again thrust the Jews into a state of subjection and deprived them of the limited rights of equalization which Prussia had previously granted them, it could not destroy the new birth of manhood

the French revolution had given them. If the year 1819—a year in which both the high and low suffered—found them again thrust back in the Ghetto, it yet found the Jews animated by a renaissance of spirit which could not be denied. No longer did the Jew deny his race; no longer did he deny Judaism. The Jew had entered upon a new life. A new life of art, science, and philosophy had opened to him—a path he was never to forsake.

This reactionary period gave birth to another scientific principle that was to lie at the root of the modern German political state. In 1821 the German philosopher Hegel published his *Philosophy of Right*, in which he maintained that the State was the highest moral law. Whatever it did was right. People lived for the State, not the State for the people. Any sacrifice that the people might make could be none too great on the demands of the State. All must be centered in the objective view of the State, whose personification was the Emperor. To this theory he added Herder's doctrine that the State should be composed of people using the same language and boasting a common racial origin; also that foreign elements or races which could not be absorbed within the body politic should be eliminated. This monarchical principle was a fit thought in the reactionary age of Hegel. It was a becoming sequel to Herder's theory of the superiority of the Germanic races. Now Hegel would establish the superiority of the German state and only compose it of those who spoke the same language and were of

similar racial origin. He, too, like Herder, would eliminate the alien. In this age when monarchy was strong, it was not difficult to have this scientific view of the State accepted by the rulers. They gladly seized upon it. As for Hegel, so feelingly did he regard the State that when, in 1831, it appeared likely that the liberal forces in Germany would triumph, he was taken ill and hovered for months between life and death. He died at the close of the year from an attack of cholera.

Hegel's teachings exercised a tremendous influence throughout Germany. His philosophy gradually forced its way into the minds of the German people. In a country where the institutions of learning were under the control and direction of the crown authorities, and where the government was the patron of the sciences, it was comparatively easy to disseminate the teachings of such highly regarded philosophers as Herder and Hegel under the guidance of the crown favor. A historic characteristic of German science has been its tendency to become political both in thought and action. The political scientist whose opinion differed from that of the court had small chance. This close association of the government with its scientists was emphasized not only in the professorships in the universities but also in political office. Many of Germany's most famous scientists, philosophers and men of letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held political office, and strange as it may seem they were generally the supporters of the State and crown au-



thorities. This was true of Herder, Goethe, Hegel, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Virchow, and many others. It was this absolute control of the thought of the nation, through the government's control of the professorships in the universities, that permitted the German authorities under the guise of great commercial expansion to saturate the minds of the people with Hegel's theory of the State. It was this control of the scientific thought of the nation that had enabled the German Government to resist the growth of democracy.

Though the spirit of manhood had been reborn in the Jews, their condition in Germany at this time was not inviting. The Judenstrasse or Ghetto existed. Into the confines of these narrow districts the Jewish people were thrust. Notwithstanding the Mendelssohnian movement in Germany and the Napoleonic liberation of the Jews in France, the restrictions in Germany still weighed heavily on them. True it is that some of the wealthy Jews mainly engaged in commercial industry and banking at this time, continued to enjoy the court favor their fathers had known under Frederick the Great, and were permitted to reside outside the pale of the Ghetto. They were, however, prohibited the right of public office; no university chair was available to them; scant recognition was afforded them in the military service; and equalization of rights was denied them. In such a caldron of social life Heine, Borne, and Ganz appeared—Jews who sang the national life of the German people with as sure a grasp and as clear

a conscience as ever the fatherland bore. These brilliant minds reached their early maturity at the beginning of the reactionary movement in Europe following the close of the Napoleonic Wars. To escape the restrictions their religion entailed, to satisfy their longing for knowledge, as well as to achieve the recognition their souls craved, these men a short time later abandoned, at least outwardly, their religion. Into the liberal movement of the time, which the reaction could not crush, they swept, becoming its literary leaders and carrying the great mass of the Jews with them.

It is characteristic of the Jews that notwithstanding their regard for the right of private property, they have ever been liberalists in thought. On liberalism they have built their hopes. Wherever the forces of liberalism have acted passively, there the Jews have allied themselves. And this passive activity of the forces of liberalism has invited all classes of the people, the wealthy and poor, the intellectual and the ignorant. This was true in Germany at this time. The movement of liberalism, however, was much broader than that of the Jewish people. In Germany, it principally took on the phase of nationalism which expressed itself in a demand for a constitutional government, and as such appealed to all classes. The process of liberalizing the government was, however, to be a continuous thing which the State, as it solidified, was slowly to acknowledge. In its aim to control the movement of liberalism, the State granted snatches of democratic government

from time to time. Behind all this, however, lay the unification of the Empire.

Since the time of the Brandenburgs, Prussia had hoped to dominate and absorb the many small surrounding states. The close of the Napoleonic Wars only intensified this thought. But a new factor—the movement of liberalism—had arisen in the world. To hold in check the forces of liberalism and at the same time lay the foundation for the unification of the Empire, Prussia grasped the tremendous commercial awakening which the whole world was experiencing. Not only did Prussia now hope to control the forces of liberalism, but it also hoped to make the many Germanic states subservient to itself. This it meant to accomplish by offering the people and the states a partnership or aid in the development of commercial prosperity.

To achieve this, Prussia now became the patron of industry. The commercial welfare of the country passed under the protection of the State, a policy which has continued to this day and ever marked Germany's tremendous commercial expansion. The basis of this policy lay in the Zollverein or customs union. As early as 1821 Prussia organized many of the small northern German states into what was known as the Zollverein or customs union. This union, while tending toward a more concrete expression of a national consciousness, also led to the development of a national commerce. At the time of its organization, more than sixty different tariffs existed in Prussia alone. A uniform and distinct

schedule of tariffs was adopted for all the states, and by 1855 all of Germany, with the exception of the free city of Hamburg, was united in the Prussian Zollverein.

The commercial expansion of Germany under the Zollverein was tremendous. The effect of her commercial rivalry on England and France was soon apparent. Into this commercial life of Germany the Jews were drawn, now breathing the freedom accorded them by the French Revolution and the liberal movement. While the greater part of the Jews, both within and without the Ghetto, belonged to the merchant or tradesman class, many of them were bankers and industrial capitalists. With them resided a large measure of the wealth which the warring princes had always sought. It was their wealth, their commercial skill, their industry, their perseverance, their initiative, and thrift that the government needed. Willingly did the authorities now countenance the Jews' participation in the commercial life of the country.

Under the guise of this industrial expansion, Prussia was forging the hegemony of the Germanic states. The Jew now rendered a valuable service to the crown authorities. He was, in fact, performing too valuable a service in the economic life to permit any attacks upon him which might destroy his usefulness to the State. This economic success politically tended to keep Herder's theory of the alien features of the Jew in the background. Moreover, the crown authorities were now thoroughly imbued

with the Hegelian doctrine of the moral sanctity of the State and its personification in the King. This was then their objective. The elimination of aliens was not at this time vital to the State. Consideration or public discussion of the question would only have diverted the authorities from their main objective—the unification of the Empire.

Another feature which tended to silence attacks upon the Jews—a factor not only instrumental in eclipsing the Herder theory of the Jew as an alien people but instrumental in disproving it—was the national expression Germany was finding in the literary works of Heine, Borne, and Ganz. The great intellectual revival which the Jews experienced under these men between 1820 and 1830 had brought them in close contact with German thought and culture. And the French Revolution of 1830, which restored Judaism to a position of equality with Catholicism and Protestantism, only intensified the feeling of the Jews of their unity with the German people.

Notwithstanding the reaction which followed the Revolution of 1830 and which made political repression absolute in Germany, the tremendous commercial expansion of the Germanic states under the Prussian Zollverein continued unabated. The Jews who had been invited into this great commercial energy were now playing an ever increasing part. For them this period not only witnessed their entry into the full commercial life of Germany, but was signalized by a further expansion in Jewish litera-



ture. A deeper Jewish consciousness had arisen which found the Jews of Germany breathing the very word and spirit of the Germanic people. It is worthy of note that as soon as Germany adopted the principle of Zollverein, the principle of commercial prosperity, the condition of the Jews definitely changed for the better.

An outgrowth of the Revolution of 1848 was socialism, founded by La Salle, a Jew. Immediately upon its appearance in Germany it was subjected to bitter persecution. This persecution was but part of the reaction following the Revolution of 1848. The school of La Salle rapidly spread in Germany. Notwithstanding the great economic interests of the Jews of Germany, many of them associated themselves with the new school. La Salle, however, drew to his standard all classes of people, of which the Jews constituted but a small minority.

The persecution of the liberals during this period was so thoroughly and systematically carried out that thousands upon thousands of them were forced to leave the country. A spy system was maintained and a censorship over the mails and control of the press exercised. No letters could be delivered to the liberals and none of their literature could be published. Especially hostile was the attack upon the socialists. This was the beginning of the large emigration of Germans, many of them Jews, to the United States. This reaction continued until 1858.

Despite the political depression and absolutism that existed in Germany during the reactionary

period which followed the Revolution of 1848, Germany, under the Zollverein, was progressing by leaps and bounds in economic growth, in intellectual achievement, and in a deeper intensification of racial aspirations. All internal customs were abolished and free trade was established throughout Prussia. A very simple tariff protecting a few commodities against the rest of the world was established. The tariffs thus collected were shared by the many states of the Zollverein, according to their population. By the application of the principle of free-trade to the Germanic states, industry grew rapidly. Politically it tended not only toward a true national unity but also to the conviction that Germany could exist without Austria. During these years Germany was being transformed from an agricultural into a great industrial nation. Economic inventions and scientific discoveries abounded; and the effect of the discovery of gold in California and Australia was shown in the sudden creation of a great number of banks and industrial corporations. The capital of the banks created in Germany from 1853 to 1857 aggregated between 700 and 800 millions, a tremendous resource for the increase of industry. Coal mines were opened up and factories and foundries arose on all sides.

This modern capitalistic class, rising in power, sought the strengthening of the confederation. German unity was essential to international commercial progress.

Along with this industrial development and the

rise of a wealthy middle class came an intense intellectual activity. Throughout this period, intellectual progress was fostered by the King. Great advances were made in education from the lowest to the highest. Germany was becoming a practical, positive nation. Schopenhauer, Helmholtz, Virchow were laying intellectual foundations for the hegemony of Prussia and the unification of Germany. The historians von Sybel and von Treitschke produced great national pamphlets, all patriotic and nationalistic in tone, and betraying an intense Prussian sympathy. The latter were polemic rather than historic treatises. All of these writers preached Hegel's doctrine, in one or more of its phases, of the superiority of the German states. That part of the doctrine which called for the elimination of those aliens who could not be absorbed into the body politic lay dormant under the spell of Germany's tremendous commercial expansion. Von Treitschke, who was the chief panegyrist of the House of Hohenzollern and favored legislation against the Socialists, Catholics and Poles, gave signs of becoming active. Apparently no decided hostile political attitude was taken against the Jews. They were fitting into the body politic. Their great commercial ability was acceptable to the State, and after the Revolution of 1848 which had brought the Jews within the bond of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," members of the race were elected to parliament. The military egotism of Germany, however, had not died. As early as 1814, Prussia had adopted compulsory universal

military service. By the law of 1860, which reorganized the army, military service was rigorously enforced. The only apparent rift against the Jews came in 1862 when they were restricted in their rights as officers of the army.

In the meantime, the Socialist party, founded in 1848 by La Salle, was augmented by a second socialist party founded in 1865 by Karl Marx, who, like La Salle, was a Jew. These socialistic parties or groups combined and exercised a wide influence throughout the Germanic states. Openly they expressed their opposition to the existing order in Germany. They were dissatisfied with the constitutional, and especially the electoral rights, as well as the social status of the laboring class. They opposed the war with France and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. The party was radically democratic and William I considered it his personal enemy. It not only invited the opposition of the State but also that of the Catholic Church, whose demands and creed it opposed. While these parties bore the name of Jewish founders, they never boasted a great number of Jews as followers. The opposition of the Jews to this party was best expressed in their founding of the National Liberty Party in 1866, a party on which, for twelve years, Bismarck depended for his support.

The period between 1860 and 1870 was the fateful decade in German history. In this period the Germanic peoples were definitely won over to Hegel's theory of the superiority of the moral state and its

personification in the Emperor. The unification of the Germanic states under an intense racial nationalism was accomplished. The achievements of the many famous scientists of Germany, together with the country's successful warfare and gigantic commercial strides, only intensified the nationalistic racial superiority the Germanic races had nurtured. At the close of this period the racial egotism of the Germanic races had fully developed. It now rested not only on the theory of intellectual superiority, but on martial prowess as well. The deification of the Germanic military state had been achieved through the elimination of Austria and France.

Though subdued throughout these years, the cry for the removal of the aliens had not died. The spell of unifying the Germanic states under Prussian leadership, and the amazing commercial expansion of Germany to which Jews were enormously contributing, had tended at the time to make the subject—that of alien people—more an academic than a political question. Moreover, the Jews not only had performed gallant and faithful service throughout the three wars, but Bismarck was resting upon the support of the Liberal Party which the Jews had founded in 1866. The crown authorities, relying upon the support of the Jews in the Reichstadt for the waging of their warfare, had given scant encouragement at the time to attacks upon the Jews.

It was in the year 1871 that Darwin published his full theory of the evolution of man. Widespread was the conflict that ensued over his second book,



the *Descent of Man*—the theory that man was evolved from some ape-like form and that the differences in men were due to their environment under sexual selection. No such struggle had ensued in 1859 on the publication of his *Origin of Species*. Violently was the theory of evolution attacked in Germany. Now Herder's theory of the structural, non-assimilative character of alien peoples was to be shattered, but not without a terrific struggle. As late as 1877, so eminent a pathologist as Rudolf Virchow opposed the study of evolution in the schools of Germany on the ground that it was as yet unproved.

The close of the Franco-Prussian War saw the Jews entering upon a new era. They were more firmly entrenched than ever before in the commercial, industrial, and financial life of Germany. In all three of Germany's wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, the Jews had rendered military service both gallantly and faithfully. They had, moreover, furnished a large measure of the sinews of war—they had been the government's bankers. The Reform or Mendelssohnian Movement which had carried the Jews into a new and cultural life, had progressed immensely. A live and pulsating Jewish literature, thoroughly Germanic, now flourished.

The war with France was not to end, however, without its aftermath. A terrific religious conflict developed between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. Germany was divided into Protestants and Catholics. By the Constitution of 1850 complete

liberty of action and control of organization was granted the Church. Under this liberty, the Catholics energetically engaged in the organization of monastic orders, missions, and societies. They were opposed in this by the Protestants, the Liberals, and the Socialists. The victory of Protestant Germany over Catholic Austria and France, together with the loss of the Pope's temporal power, but intensified the conflict. Socialism had long borne the enmity of the Church, and when the Jesuits were expelled in 1872 from Germany, the Liberals, to which party the great mass of the Jews belonged, won the open opposition and hatred of the Church for their support of Bismarck in the controversy.

Germany's victory over France in 1870 brought Germany an enormous cash indemnity, till then the greatest in history—a billion dollars. This indemnity was a powerful stimulus to the already inflated condition of German commerce as a result of the preceding wars. German industry and finance had become greatly over-extended. So strong was the wave of enthusiasm in Germany as a result of the war, however, that scant attention was given the inflated condition of both industry and money. A mighty movement of prosperity swept the land. No heed had been given to the future, and when the inevitable financial crash came in 1873, with its attendant ruin on thousands, it was found that only the far-seeing bankers and merchants had escaped. Someone had to be blamed for the crash. No thought was given that possibly the government had erred

after the war in encouraging an exaggerated commercial expansion, or that the Crown authorities might have been remiss in their economic theories. The crash, however, had revealed two things: first, that a number of Jews were involved in big failures; secondly, that most of the Jewish capitalists and bankers had weathered the crisis. The panic was now laid at the door of the Jews. A storm of hatred and jealousy burst which was to last for a decade or more. All the old feelings of passion and prejudice were revived. Pamphlets appeared in droves from prolific German pens denouncing the Jews from every personal standpoint and stigmatizing Judaism through and through. That part of Hegel's theory dormant under Germany's immense commercial expansion, and which held that those people who could not be absorbed into the body politic should be eliminated, came to life; added to this doctrine was Herder's earlier theory of the Semites as being constitutionally and physically endowed with a culture and thought which could not be absorbed by the Teuton.

To the satisfaction of the Germanic intellectuals, philosophy had demonstrated the Jew an alien. Now both the Hegelians and the followers of Herder stormed against the citizenship of the Jew. Every antagonistic force seemed to hurl its bolt. The Catholic Church, which had become incensed at the support given Bismarck by the Jews in his controversy with the Church in the earlier two years, opened fire. The Darwinian opponents who feared

that Herder's theory of Teutonic racial superiority over the rest of mankind was threatened by the theory of evolution, jumped into the fray. Yes, even the bitterness of Schleiermacher's mystical philosophy was revived, and the State, anxious to escape censure because of its lack of foresight in the administration of the economics of the nation, helped shift the wrath upon the Jews and Judaism.

The climax of German anti-Semitism came in 1878. The intervening years between 1872 and 1878 had seen the breach mended between the Catholics of Germany and Bismarck. Under the changed condition the support of the Liberal Party—the party founded and supported by the Jews and which had served its purpose in support of Bismarck—was no longer desired by State authorities. The break between Bismarck and the Liberal Party was the occasion for renewed agitation against the Jews. Now it smacked of a political nature, with court chaplains and over-court officials hurling anathemas. Anti-Semitism in all its earlier phases, plus political disfavor, swept the country. Von Treitschke and Nietzsche, arch-sycophants of chauvinism and Crown favor, were foremost in the attack. During the agitation, the French philosopher, Renan, added his observations in anthropology on the superiority of the Indo-European races over the Semites in religion and culture. Before such an overwhelming and unexpected storm the Jews lay stricken. Only a lifting of the commercial depression and a shifting of the attacks into other coun-

tries could reveal a true light to the Teuton. The attack, however, had served its purpose. The Crown authorities had escaped all censure for the panic of 1873. They had won back the support of the German Catholics who stood alienated at the close of the War of 1870, and a national Germanic consciousness of racial superiority over mankind had been welded in the minds of the German masses.

Throughout these years, the Hegelian theory of the Germanic state remained unchanged. From its inception, it had been rigorously adhered to. Nor had the egotism of the Germanic state in any way lessened. Quite the contrary; their belief in their intellectual and martial supremacy, their concept of being a racial people superior to all mankind, continued to be emphasized in the thought of the German people. Herder's theory continued to develop, reaching its culmination in Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. The State had not only maintained its control of the universities and schools of the country, but likewise continued its supervision and control of the industry of the nation. Moreover, it redoubled its efforts toward commercial expansion and embarked on an imperialistic colonial policy. Germany had now developed into a paternal, imperialistic, military state,—the basis of which lay in Hegel's theory of the state. and Herder's concept of a superior racial people.

The lifting of the industrial depression in Germany together with the continued great industrial progress which followed Germany's adoption of a



definite colonial policy in 1884, helped the Jews to recover from the terrific decade of 1873-1883. Once again the State could make use of the commercial and financial genius of its Jews. Moreover, as anti-Semitism spread into other nations it tended to subside in Germany. Its terrific course in Russia revealed to the Germanic people a clearer consciousness of the results of their teachings.

Anti-Semitism in Germany was thus the chosen scientific weapon for establishing the superiority of the German race, for deifying the military state, and for preserving the sacredness of the Crown authority. Here anti-Semitism rested upon a scientific, anthropological, or physical structural analysis of the racial and religious differences of men. When the Germanic state, however, sought to apply the scientific theories upon which it was erected against the world, when it tried to contest the right of democracy to exist, and endeavored to establish the supremacy of the Germanic people over all mankind, it not only demonstrated the falsity of its imperial racial theories but destroyed the state itself. In those anti-Semitic countries wherein scientific analysis was not so fully developed, commercial rivalry served as the main cause of anti-Semitism.

With the exception of the hostile attitude in the decade of 1873-83, the policy of the Germanic states toward the Jews since the Revolution of 1848 had varied but little. The Revolution had materially changed the status of the Jews in Germany. They had been admitted into the citizenship of the State.

Before the law, they were technically granted all rights, but in practice many of the rights were denied them. The State had made use of their capital, their commercial and industrial genius, and their intellectual and scientific men for the expansion of the Empire and the preservation of its power. Under the great commercial progress Germany experienced during the last quarter century—a development which made her a commercial rival of all great nations of the world—the Jews had regained the support of the State and rested in peace and security. This was the position they held in Germany at the outbreak of the Great War and at no time had their position ever been more favorable.

The loss of the war to Germany was a crushing thing, for it not only destroyed her power but ended the very thing on which her power rested—the paternal, imperialistic, military state. It was inevitable, however, that the representatives of so thoroughly militaristic a state should still retain a deep consciousness of the power of the state and should seek a method of restoring it; and that in the search for its restoration they should attack the existing government in what they deemed its weakest point. The liberal government of Germany holds its power by virtue of democratic authority. It has the support of the Jews and in turn would give them protection and recognition in the rights of citizenship. But before the existing democratic government could be destroyed, Germany's defeat in the World War must be explained away. To his

followers, the Kaiser must be held blameless; no censure must fall upon him. If someone else was responsible for the loss of the war, then he need not answer. The Jews made possible that objective. Always an object of easy attack, they were seized upon as the destructive force, and charged with the loss of the war. The obvious purpose of this was twofold—first, to absolve the Crown authorities from all responsibility for the loss of the war; secondly, to destroy the existing government through its recognition of the Jews. Once again, anti-Semitism, in its new dress, reared its head.

Had Germany emerged out of the World War victorious, the world would have witnessed few if any racial attacks upon the Jew. All other lands have paid homage to his patriotism. The sacrifices made by the Jews for Germany in the World War were no less than those made by the Jews in other lands. The Jew claims no credit for his sacrifices to any country. He did no more than his fellow countrymen in the cause they championed and, like all other true and patriotic citizens, he feels his full reward earned in the knowledge that he has performed a duty to his country with honor.

The racial attacks following the close of the war in Germany and Austria have revealed that anti-Semitism is a social attitude; that it depends upon existing conditions; that it is, moreover, of a negative nature, in that it is seldom utilized as a positive factor in attaining objectives but is invariably used negatively by those who would destroy some exist-

ing authority or power. The Jew well knows that because of his life in the world, because of the position history has accorded him, he must ever be a rallying objective for dissatisfied and guileful forces, and that while anti-Semitism will enjoy temporary periods of inactivity, it will ever be thrust into the arena by the destructive forces in life. In the future, anti-Semitism's head will revolve about the Jew's commercial position, just as the intensity of its movement will rest upon his social value. Thus fortified with the knowledge that his position in the world must ever be determined by himself, the Jew may view anti-Semitism as an ever constant rise and fall of his social contributions.

Anti-Semitism will shift with the big problems of the ages. It is entirely a thing in experience. It is no longer a matter of petty religious differences, because religious differences are no longer vital for the welfare of man. Anti-Semitism today is primarily aroused by political and economic causes; economics, mainly, since commercialism motivates our present-day life. Were the Jews to lose their financial and commercial prestige in this day, were they to sink out of the economic life and be abased from their social and cultural prominence, anti-Semitism would soon fade into its original dress of petty religious and racial differences, for no longer would it serve the world as a way in which to judge itself. This very fact that anti-Semitism in our day has shifted from a theoretic or religious difference to an empirical one,

that it rests upon facts, upon conditions in life, emphasizes the need of the Jew to consider well the service he renders mankind. What benefit does mankind achieve through the great prominence of the Jew's position, remains the vital question.

Anti-Semitism's future must be judged in the light of the democratization, not only of religion but of social and political life. Even Germany has not escaped the democratization which has followed the war. The old religious animosity has been dropped for supposed scientific racial differences and political aims. The democratization of the world, resulting from the World War, calls for service from all people to mankind. It bears, however, a special significance to the Jew. It not only emphasizes the prominence and importance of his position in life, but demands that those occupying positions of importance and power shall the more render beneficial services to mankind. Objectively, anti-Semitism is no longer clothed in petty religious differences—it has taken on the broader aspect of service to mankind. Now more than ever is the Jew to be measured by his contribution to the welfare of man. The shift has come in anti-Semitism! The question remains: How big a service do we render mankind? Anti-Semitism, however, has not been entirely without its compensatory movements to the Jews. It has not only revealed to them the indestructibility of their religious faith, but has also revealed the deeper significance of the social life for all men. And therein lies the militancy of the rising generation of Jews.



## CHAPTER III

### THE MILITANCY OF THE RISING GENERATION

**T**HE rising generation of Jews throughout the whole world, and particularly in the United States, is rapidly losing all conception of a social consciousness distinct from that of its fellow-citizens. The interaction of social forces in the past few years, long lying dormant, has revealed to mankind the fatuity, the impossibility of any one people maintaining a social attitude or mind distinct from that of his co-nationalists. The isolation of the early world, however, not only made for but preserved the development of distinct racial and religious consciences. At the outset, this separateness meant little to the world at large. But this division or separateness took on tremendous significance, it became charged with hatred and calumny, when the contacts of the world brought into conflict the ideals and institutions of the various peoples.

From his earliest contacts with the heathen world the Jew was subjected to bitter animosity. In the

early organization of modern society, the enmity or feeling against the Jew was directed against him primarily because of a dislike of his ideals and institutions. As society developed, and points of contact became more direct, became more personal, hatred for the ideals and the institutions of the Jew was gradually transferred to and associated with his personality, with the Jew himself. It is only in this age that the Jew is gradually extricating himself from what was believed to be an eternal state of social and biological inferiority.

This spirit of enmity quite naturally made the Jew unwelcome to other peoples, just as it made them in turn unwelcome to him, and thus led to mutual non-association. The attitude of enmity and non-association was tremendously intensified by reason of the conflicts that ensued in the subsequent development of society. It was then perceived that, notwithstanding his numerical insignificance, not only was the Jew resolved to fight to maintain his religious ideals but that in the hope of preserving them he would more and more hold himself apart from close association with the surrounding peoples. As the continued development of society brought on ever recurring cultural and political conflicts, the feeling of hatred and animosity against the Jew not only increased, but a part of mankind came to believe that the teachings of Judaism exalted the Jew above his fellow-men. This was untrue. The only superiority felt by the Jew was in the consciousness of possessing a lofty and en-

nobling spiritual thought—a thought which he believed the heathen world lacked.

The great quest of the Jew throughout the ages—for it was apparent at an early day that the Jew could not win the world over to his way of thought—had been but the quest for a land of religious toleration. Though the rest of mankind rejected Judaism, the Jew would none the less adhere to it! The conviction of the heathen world that the Jew felt himself an exalted and superior man was but an outgrowth of the political struggle of the Jews for the preservation of their nation and the teachings of the prophets, particularly with reference to the favored place the Jew would occupy in the Messianic reign. In the struggle with Christianity the Jewish teachers, in the hope of staying the inroads Christianity was making upon Judaism, undoubtedly stressed the idea of the Jew's spiritual superiority. But this is a thought belonging to the past. It holds no place in the thought of the present day.

The significance of a distinct or separate religious conscience, in our day, is no longer a vital matter. It is a conceded fact permissible to all mankind. And whatever form the Jewish thought of the past may have taken, with reference thereto, it is today submerged in the conviction of nationality. The idea of Americanism has superseded and subordinated all conception of a distinct racial or religious conscience. "I am an American!" is the shibboleth of the rising generation of American Jews.

The attitude of the rising generation of Jews is distinctly militant. It is their conviction that the only possible attitude, not only for the native-born or immigrant Jew, but for every American, is that his Americanism shall be the dominant characteristic of his moral, social, and political life; and it is this belief that lies at the basis of the militancy of the rising generation. The World War laid the foundation of a permanent American nationality, and America with its restricted immigration is now about to undergo the crystallization process of a distinct nationalistic people. When fully crystallized, American nationality must embody the culture and tenets of its founders; it must be a land of law and order, humane in its treatment of its own, as in the treatment of the peoples of other lands. It should be a land of freedom and justice, of liberty of conscience and speech for all. And in the struggle to achieve and maintain that nationalism, the Jew proposes that he shall not be discriminated, infringed upon, or denied the blessings and equal opportunities of his land.

The negative, halting, apologetic attitude of the Jew is gone—gone forever! No longer does he or will he crave sufferance. He will neither ask for, nor cringe before favors. To do so is un-American. He seeks and demands justice. The militancy of the rising generation is a plea, a cry, a demand for justice. There is nothing in the old story of the Jew's contribution in the past to America. All mankind must recognize that citizenship

is an ever pressing obligation which never ceases in life. Though the bitterness of mankind may at times belittle the Jew's contribution, he cannot be deprived either of the consciousness of his past contributions, or of the necessity of an ever present and increasing contribution.

Not only does the Jew propose to fight for American nationalism worthy of its founders and builders, but he also proposes to resist any effort which shall mar or deface its escutcheon in reducing him or anyone to a state of inferiority, either before the law or before his fellow-citizens. It perhaps matters little in the long run to the Jew whether or not he be accorded his full stature before mankind; but it matters vitally that the American nationalism now crystallizing shall not be void of its salient features—of truth, justice, and liberty. To these ends, the Jew consecrates himself, and whenever and wherever they are in jeopardy or attacked, even though the Jew himself be not the objective of the attack, he will resist, resist, and resist!

Long before the World War, the militancy of the rising generation of Jews had become apparent. Slowly it developed, rather negatively, out of the persecutions and discriminations waged against him. But suddenly this negative growth became dynamic. It grew, charged with the common sacrifices of mankind. It was transformed into a positive living conviction directed against the bigotry and prejudice of both Gentile and Jew.

In this age it is the purpose and the intention of



the Jew to aver his Judaism. This he will not be denied. Judaism today stands out a clearer religious theology than ever before. At no time in the history of Judaism have its tenets been more acceptable. But Judaism stands with all other faiths in that its tenets and practices are weighed today in the light of its service to mankind. All religion is on trial today—not that it will pass out of the life of man, but that man is unconsciously searching for the religion that will best serve him. The entire modern history of Judaism has been one of defense. That attitude must be abandoned, for it is a stalemate condition. The future of Judaism lies in what should have been its past—a religion for all mankind. The rise of Christianity quickly forced upon Judaism a defensive attitude and destroyed all of the practical propaganda incentive it possessed. Moreover, its all-embracing and universal theology was lost to the world in the more direct and concrete exposition of Deity proclaimed in Jesus. Henceforth Judaism assumed a spirit of submissive existence and became more and more a religion of sects and persons confined to and preserved alone by them. But in order to live Judaism requires an aggressive, motivating stimulus—an impulsive ideal that will carry us on to an affirmative and concrete work, even though that work leads but in its own reformation.

Judaism, not unlike Christianity, must now pass through a great liberalization movement. It cannot remain dormant and self-contained with its present

state of development. Unlike Christianity, however, which must pass through a fundamental theological schism and liberalize its conception of Deity, Judaism must liberalize its theology, by abandoning all these theologic concepts which tend to make Judaism the religion of but a people. The conception of Deity as covenanting with one people, a chosen people, is not tenable in this day to the rest of mankind. And further, Judaism must dissociate from its theology its outworn and misleading social concepts. Though Judaism is burdened with many useless and outlived social restrictions, the great mass of Jews still cling to the sociology of their religion with the same tenacity that they cling to its theology.

Yes, if it wishes to retain its vitality, if it even wishes to hold its own followers in this age, Judaism must purge itself, not only of its outworn religious concepts but of its non-serving social elements. Religion today is a harmonious composite of social and spiritual elements. But while spiritual elements, to serve their great purpose, must possess social value, they must not contravene and restrict it. Theology must evolve with the social life, if it would guide and direct it. In the past, when isolation was the lot of man, the Jews developed the moral, religious, and social life as one. Judaism is thus a composite religion—it is both philosophic and sociologic in that its theology purports not only to determine but to direct and control the activities of the day. Judaism, from its very begin-

ning, presented to mankind the primary theological principle that religion cannot be separated from the life of the day. It must enter into and be part of the daily life. But empiricism—life—has revealed to us the truth that theology, to be effective, must bend in harmony with the ever changing social life. And while the cardinal truths of Judaism are as true today as when first proclaimed, many of its social laws are not. Notwithstanding the familiarity of this fact to Judaism, the great, great majority of Jews still clings to its earlier attitude, still thinks it a sacrilege and a disloyalty to its ancestry were a single habit either in form or manner to vary with the letter of the law. The Jews have viewed the sociology of life with the same rigidity and fixity that they conceived their religion.

Jewish writers have sought to ascertain why the liberal-minded Jews have been and are apathetic toward the history of their great characters, toward the whole past of Judaism, as well as being indifferent to its future. It is because the Jews have overshadowed their religion with a fixed social science that has not served them in their present life. Our social life is a constantly changing thing and changes in the mind and attitudes of the Jew, as it does with all other people. The modern-day Jew thinks in terms of the life of the day. He is not hitched up and bound to a social life of the past which Judaism would administer. Judaism must harmonize with the social life. Only then will it begin to

serve the present needs of its followers, and only then will it begin to allay the ever increasing unrest within its ranks. And in this respect let us note that Orthodox Judaism articulates the sociology of Judaism, while Reformed Judaism is a refinement of social habits, an adjustment of the sociology or social laws of Judaism into the life of the day, rather than of the religious thought of the Orthodox Jew.

Judaism, like all ancient religions, has imposed its principles and doctrines on social life. But there is no good reason in this age why the Jew need carry the social aspects of his religion on his face and back, except in a spirit of hostility and defiance. There is no need to exploit his aversion to the physical and social habits in which he lives. Perhaps it is too much to expect the physical beautification of the Jew, but when physical appearance becomes a reproach both to the individual and his faith, when it renders one physically unsociable to his fellow-men, it may well be abandoned. Surely those who persist in these habits need not feel aggrieved if they are unwelcome to both Jew and Gentile. Merely to shout Judaism for the Jews, and counsel the Jews to remain Jews, will not meet the environmental and evolutionary problem before them.

Nor will it do but to cry "educate! educate! educate!" unless we have more decisive action on the part of those who fear Judaism may be lost. Education alone will not sustain Judaism. It alone will neither satisfy the rising generation of Jews nor

reach the Christian world. Moreover, before education will bear fruit a foundation must be laid for it. Judaism may well persist in asking mankind to accept its religious or theological concepts, but it must abandon the idea of imposing its friction-bearing and fruitless social restrictions upon that religion and upon man. Jewish education of native-born American Jews will fail unless the objectionable features in Judaism from a social and physical standpoint are eliminated.

Religious prejudice, like all thinking, is a habit of thought acquired in early age. In the same way the fixed social elements of Judaism are but habits of prejudice and bigotry which the enlightenment of the present day can no more remove in the Jews, than it can the religious prejudice of the Gentiles. The Jews have long maintained that the kernel of Judaism lies in its unfolding nature, in its evolutionary character; that no matter what comes in the life of man its concept of the unity of God is acceptable. But surely they could have entertained no such thought in regard to the social practices attached to their religious concepts. If anything, history has shown quite the contrary. Many of them have become useless. Yet the fidelity and adherence with which the Jews have sought to retain their outworn religious and social habits bear evidence of a prejudice and bigotry surpassed by none.

Once Judaism has purged itself of its outworn religious concepts, and abandoned its fixed sociology



of life, the task of education may be undertaken. But the educational work must apply to both Jew and Gentile. It will serve small purpose to educate but one of the two. With Judaism freed of the features of static social life, and liberated from illusionary racial theologic concepts, the education of the Jews in the history of their ancestors, in the glorious contributions of their forefathers to mankind, may profitably be undertaken. Then they must be taught the simple but true beliefs in their religion, and their relationship to the life of the day. In this way, and in this way alone will it profit those who hope to instill in the minds of the rising generation of Jews a wholesome respect for and adherence to their faith. And then must the Jew educate the Christian world. Christians are not only without knowledge of Judaism, but the great majority of them are ignorant of the birth of their own faith out of Judaism. The Christian world has not educated and will not educate itself in Judaism. Certainly they care nothing about its rigid and unbending social aspects. If the Jews would have the Christian world know Judaism, they themselves must convey the knowledge to them in an enlightened form.

The modern-day Jew wishes to live only in the light of the present day. He has no desire to live in the past. If things he cherished in the past have served their purpose and are of no further avail, he is done with them. But he denies that religious freedom has had its day. He believes,

on the contrary, that it is yet to come—perhaps only its pursuit remains for us. Yet he will strive for it; and as he grants every man the right to worship his God as he wills, so he cries out and demands for himself the right to worship God as he sees Him, be it the Judaism as conceived by his forefathers or as seen by him in the light of the evolved centuries.

And with the Jew's adherence to his faith is the recognition that in the coming generations intermarriage will become a vexed problem for both Jew and Gentile. The animosity to intermarriage in the past has not been one-sided. It has been and is opposed as bitterly by Gentile as by Jew. The opposition of the Jew lay in the historic attitude of his ancestors, the preservation of their faith, while that of the Gentile lay primarily in a hatred of Judaism. Social restriction and racial contamination are later thoughts. But all these features bid fair to be submerged in a large measure in the rising tide of democracy—in the liberalization of religion, notwithstanding the intolerance which at times accompanies it, and in the common sacrifices that come to all out of the great crises of life.

The rising generation of American Jews believes that all social, economic, and religious ideals of the present day point to an ever increasing intermarriage of the faiths. The humanizing social aspects of life, the common economic pursuits, as well as the grouping of the fundamentals of religion, will bring about even wider and greater degrees of so-

cial intercourse between the Jews and Gentiles than have prevailed in the past. The fundamental goal of all social contact is marriage; and that must inevitably follow a greater and wider social relationship between Jew and Gentile. Moreover, the rising tide of marital distress and the easy mechanism afforded for its discharge, must undoubtedly, if not arrested, facilitate intermarriage. The fact that the status of marriage no longer seems to embody its earlier sanctity, and that under our easy marriage laws the relation may readily be severed, tends to lessen the fear which may arise from an unsuccessful intermarriage.

Sages have long propounded this inquiry: Why should not man be free to choose his religious convictions? Why should man be bound to the religious convictions of his forefathers any more than he remains a believer in their earlier political thought? The answer to the second part of the inquiry is not difficult. It is true that politics shift with the events of the day, whereas religion remains a more constant and permanent thing. It is the fear of breaking all contact with our ancestors that holds us in unbreakable fetters to their religious conceptions. We are thus born into a religion. There is still, however, a more potent reason why we cannot break the religious bonds that knit us to the past as easily as we do our political concepts. That lies in the moral education of the young. The easiest way to give moral instruction to the child is in the form of a religion. Only in this form will the

moral teaching fasten in the child's mind. Quite naturally, it is the parent's conviction that is instilled in the youthful mind, and the religious thought so instilled remains more of a habit of thinking with the child than do the other manners and customs of thought, which are less developed in its youthful age. The solidarity of religious thought finds no better illustration than in the way the child retains through life the religious habits of the parent. It is this factor of the moral instruction of the young—its ever pressing need—that affords a vital obstacle to the success of intermarriage.

Intermarriage of all faiths today is largely controlled by the restrictive attitude of the group; but in the future it bids fair to become a more personal and individual thing. The solidarity which group life imposes upon society is slowly disintegrating under the ever increasing liberalism our modern society develops. To be sure, new groups are ever formed out of the novel or unusual, but these new groups do not possess the rigidity and solidarity of the past. They assume the mobility of modern society. They are in a large measure free from religious prejudice. The success of intermarriage will lie primarily with the psychology of individuals who undertake it. Intermariag  is not for the narrow, closely-knit, religious conscience. There the pitfalls in religion will ever widen, and the duties of the marital relation ever shrink. Intermarriage will attain its most satisfactory results among those to whom church affiliations are the expression of an

inward spiritual emotion; who view religion as a service to mankind; who conceive religion as the expression and satisfaction of an emotional impulse; and who believe that it matters little what expression the individual gives to his emotion or in what ritual service he may satisfy it.

Both Jew and Gentile must recognize that a future increase in intermarriage is inevitable. Not only do the social and economic laws of society tend to establish it, but in a large measure political authority ordains it in the United States. The present Immigration Law, if rigidly adhered to over a long period of years, will vitally stimulate intermarriage by tending to obliterate our racial and cultural differences. We must not be unmindful of the fact, however, that the periodic rise of anti-Semitism will tend to check and abate it. The rising generation of American Jews, as well as of Jews of all liberal countries, will insist upon greater freedom in intermarriage, notwithstanding the fact that intermarriage holds many perils for Judaism. Group intermarriage of the Jew and Gentile, however, must inevitably destroy the distinctiveness of the Jew, leaving only the tenets of Judaism surviving.

Does intermarriage hold great promise for the future of man in that it connotes a broader and deeper brotherhood—a possible bridging-over of the Christian and Judaic theological concepts? The breach between Judaism and Christianity is a cause of the growth of irreligion in the world today. To many minds, religion presents the idea of unity. Ir-



reconcilable religious concepts, especially in an ever increasing intelligence, cast a doubt in the minds of many people of the certainty and absoluteness of all religion. It is vitally essential to the cause of religion and to the welfare of man that the breach between two such kindled religions as Judaism and Christianity be mended. And the bridging of these faiths become less difficult if everybody bears in mind the fact that Christianity represents an approximation of the immanence or essence of Judaism—a Judaism subsequently enlarged as well as modified in part by the practical realism of Greco-Roman life. The Jews are no more willing now than they were in the past to accept a modification or abridgment of their concept of the unity or universality of God. It is true that much of the social, and a part of the theologic, aspect of their religion is untenable. But these must yield to the inexorable laws of society. The rub remains, however, in the question of the particularization of Deity, of Jesus, in his triadic form. What but the need of a greater service to mankind shall bridge this?

It is vital, however, that this militancy of spirit on the part of Jews should be accompanied by a sense of humility, and that there should be a due recognition of their errors and omissions, with the further recognition that these are not few in number. They are social, in the main, involving our customs, habits, and manners—particularly our ostentatiousness and display, our boisterousness, and our speech. These charges in the past have been

largely directed against the immigrant, who, because of the pressure of his incoming brethren, has been unable to adjust himself with any celerity to his new environment. A keen recognition on the part of the Jew, not only of the need of adjusting his customs, habits, manners, and speech to conform with the accepted standard of America, but of his determination to have his brethren do so, is a proper and fitting accompaniment to his spirit of militancy. Mighty is the man, and mighty the people that can recognize his or its errors and correct them! The social habits of the Jew must be made to conform with accepted social standards. But above all things else, the Jew, no less than any other man, cannot afford to lack judgment, tact, and discretion, for these are the mainsprings of society, and it is fatal to lack them. Now that Congress has deemed it advisable to close our doors to a further influx of immigrants, it is our aim and desire to see, in the near future, as an accomplished fact, the social adjustment, not only of resident Jewish immigrants, not only of all resident immigrants, but of all native-born citizens, irrespective of faith.

The passage of the Immigration Law has but intensified the spirit of militancy of the rising generation of Jews. Slowly but surely Jews are rising not only to condemn, but to resist the discrimination, persecution, and injustice accorded them. They believe that if all the allegations and innuendoes directed against them were dragged into the light of day, they would perforce evaporate

of their sheer unreality. But when these charges are boldly broadcast and call for answer, Jews have no right to stand aside and observe the direct objective of the attack crushed and annihilated, while they themselves sink back into the safety of their obscurity. Contrary to current belief, Jews are not opposed to the Immigration Law, in which they recognize a long-felt need, a prop of support which, in the changing order of events, but crystallizes their determination to resist, in the future, all forms of inequality and restriction directed either against themselves or others.

This recently enacted Immigration Law marks the beginning of a distinctive American culture which no man or people can resist. While America has never totally lacked distinctive cultural evidences, these have none the less been submerged under the continuous flow of immigrants. The law in question will be a potent influence on the youth of America, and especially the Jewish youth. America is now committed to a policy of limited, selective immigration, and though the bars may be lifted somewhat at various times in the future, in accordance with the nation's commercial and industrial needs, it is quite certain that the policy of unrestricted and unlimited immigration is forever ended. And there need be no regret over this policy other than the humane and free impulses felt for those who are denied the privileges and opportunities of our land. The policy of non-immigration represents a distinct milestone in America's political, social, and economic

evolution. It indicates a quietus to the charge of being an alien which is so frequently hurled at the Jews.

The Jews of America, like all other people whose streams have been nourished and supplied from other lands, realize that with the curtailment of the inflow from abroad, there is made possible a more intensive application, as well as a more extensive development, of American culture. And they insist upon a more intensive development of American culture, not alone for themselves but for others. To us there can be but one known culture—and that is the culture of our country, America. America's restrictive policy clearly and distinctly foreshadows the extinction, in the near future, of much of the ceremony and custom of Orthodox Judaism. It means that whatever remains of the Jew's racial features is destined to atrophy, and that the struggle of the future will not consist of the struggle of the Jew to preserve himself, but will result in the effort of all mankind to preserve Judaism as a religion. Moreover, the Immigration Law, if rigorously enforced, betokens a tremendous increase in the intermarriage of Jew and Gentile in America; and while intermarriage will cleave deeply into the ranks of the Jew, and may even destroy him as an individual, it will not destroy Judaism. The future, let it be recalled, will insist that paramount emphasis be put on Judaism and not on the Jew.

To the rising generation of Jews, it little matters whether Jews be considered a racial body or not.

Over the theory of race or religion, they are apathetic. They are vitally interested, however, in the facts and realities of the day. To them the future life of the Jew is one with those of his fellow-men; that life is social, pure and simple, and no religious differences can avert their common lot. In short, the Jew imposes, not only on himself but on all others, the need of a sound, healthy Americanism; he believes that America will remain true to its ideals; and that in this belief the safety, not only of themselves, but of all mankind, is assured.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE JEW AS AN ALIEN

THE charge has been persistently hurled against the Jew that he is an alien, utterly foreign to American nationality. So far as this charge involves the ethnological question of race—the matter of Nordic and Semitic, of flat skulls versus round skulls—that subject may conveniently be relegated to others. We are convinced that man's origin is not spontaneous, that mankind is sprung from a common ancestor, and that their cultures, religions and tastes are things acquired.

A discussion of the alien necessitates the airing of these two questions: Is he politically and legally alien? And, if not, is he factually alien? Does he owe allegiance, in other words, to another state, or is he actually out of touch with our culture and society? A moment's reflection discloses the truth of the observation that though a man be politically alien to us, he may be unalien to our culture and society. Contrarily, though a man may be politically allied to a land, he may none the less be alien to its ideals and aspirations. With the political or legal aspect of

the alien we are not interested, for both the native-born and naturalized citizen, with but few exceptions, stand before the law with like privileges and disabilities. The legal status thus remains an academic subject, pure and simple, for the juridical person. It is with the second aspect of the alien, however, that we are interested. For if we disregard the legal or political aspect, there is in the end no difference between the native-born and the naturalized citizen out of harmony with our culture and society, and the resident alien similarly unsympathetic toward the aims and purposes of our land.

The Jew has resisted and will continue to resist the charge of being an alien. Moreover, he never has, and never will take the charge seriously, for one must owe allegiance to another land to be alien politically. A home land, in the sense of a national country, is precisely what the Jew has lacked for more than 2,000 years. While the American-born Jew has never known a land other than America, it is true that the immigrant Jew has; though in this respect he does not differ from the great mass of Americans who have themselves, or whose ancestors migrated to America. Nor is the cry of alien seriously intended by those who shout it. The cry is frequently heard from the mouths of both politician and publicist, uttered in many instances not without sincerity of purpose. With this there can be no issue. The pain, however, rests in the cry of those who, actuated by selfish and dishonest motives, sheer bigotry, and prejudice,

would lay the charge on the Jew alone. They must know that they cannot maintain the cry—for all experience denies it. But what is worse, their heart must be out of their cry, knowing as they do that the coming to America of their own ancestors preceded the present immigrant Jew's arrival by but a short period of time, if at all.

Every nation has a nationality of its own. No two nations have the same nationality. While nationality with every people has been a matter of evolution, yet the history of any one country, whether viewed from the standpoint of race, political fortune, necessity, or geographical determination, has radically differed from that of every other nation. In every nation, however, is to be found a solidarity complex due to the dominant thing or things to which the people cling and which serve as the decisive factor or factors in the development of its nationality. These vital determining forces are not identical in all nationalities; else all nationalities would be one. Thus a dominant feature in the nationality of Asiatic countries is at this time a belief in Mohammedanism. Why? Because there is no religious, civil, criminal, or political thought in the whole Mohammedan world other than that set forth in the Koran. In short, no religious faith or jurisprudence exists to combat it. The future undoubtedly will disclose a weakening in the decisiveness of this single force, but at this writing faith in Mohammed and his book is the decisive factor in the nationality of the Mohammedan world.

Religion was undoubtedly a vital factor in the early development of the nationality of European countries, just as it has been in the history of every country. But the development or evolution of religion in the Western World has been markedly different from its course in the Asiatic World. The latter has known nothing of man's inventive or mechanical genius, and little if any of the intellectual and commercial life of the Western World. Religion is by no means a decisive factor in the nationality of the occidental world of today. The long, bitter, religious struggles of the Western World, as well as the growth of a moral and social mind, has destroyed religion, among the great liberal nations of Europe and America, as the decisive characteristic of nationalism. This is certainly true of any particular religion. Thus France is numerically a Catholic country, yet no one would say that the nationality of a Frenchman is dependent upon his belief in Catholicism. The whole religious history of France would deny such a fact. And again, no one would say that it has been the varying, shifting, uncertain political institutions of France in the past which have maintained the solidarity or nationality of the country. Yet France possesses a true nationalistic complex. With France, however, it is neither its religious nor its political institutions which casts it into a world of solidarity or nationality. This is achieved by the consciousness of a glorious past, of the will to live and preserve a people clothed with a remarkable history of achievements

for mankind; what links its people together and gives France its inordinate nationality is the fear of extinction.

With America still young in the history of nations, its racial solidarity complex remains to be developed. While America has been the land of the immigrant, its nationality is not to be found in the racial influxes and migrations to America of races from all parts of the world, but in the thing that has brought them hither—our political institutions with all they imply. America's nationality, like England's, rests on a political and institutional solidarity, not only because it was founded under such auspices from its very beginning, but because we, the American people of today, believe that no matter what changes may come hereafter in the political life of America, it will remain a government of free institutions. American nationality today rests on the will of the people to preserve a government of free institutions.

We Americans, however, are prone to believe that because our political institutions rest upon the will of a free people they are impregnable, indestructible. This is a false belief, the very falsity of which is likely to destroy the premise—the thing itself. Our free institutions require constant care and protection. Our very people require an ever present watch lest in their desire to enjoy our institutions more fully, they destroy them.

Nationality is a vital, pulsating thing. It is ever



in the making. As the vital needs and purposes of the nation change, whether through internal or external forces, a nationality changes. It is purely an evolutionary thing. It is never constant. And since not only the interests or wishes of the people, but the fate of their interests and wishes are likewise common to them all, a nationality, unless totally destroyed or fused into that of another, persists and persists, in spite of all difficulties and conflicts encountered. It is the ever present fear we have for the fate of our common desires or wishes that not only cements us, but that persistently determines our nationality.

There are people, however, who maintain that the vital factors in the development of nationality are race and religion. In pursuing our inquiry a bit further, we may ask ourselves what connection race has with nationality, and what nationality has to do with religion. Let us trace, in short, the development of nationality and note its dependence, if any, upon race and religion.

Since the beginning of tribal or group life, nationality has been in the making. It was at first a very crude and limited concept, primarily devoted to the activities of the group, the primary one of which was the securing of the food supply. Undoubtedly the early group was a closely blooded family which grew and expanded in two ways; mainly by choice, as in marriage; and also by warfare, in which last event the victor frequently subjected the vanquished to serfdom or slavery. And for a long time this

latter method was by far the more important of the two. Thus nationality in early group life was determined either by birth or adoption. Adoption might be by way of marriage or friendship, and in the case of the war victim it was generally a matter of compulsion. It was not a question of race.

Nationality at this time was primarily a matter of belonging to the group, of devoting oneself to the success and achievement of the dominant purposes and needs of the group, whether by force, fear, or desire. And the same forces of human nature which today we regard as constituting nationality were present to tribal man. While tribal life aimed at united and concerted action, both for sustenance and defense, it was purely of a selfish and revengeful nature. And society continued down through the ages not only in this same spirit, but with much added harshness—civil and religious warfare.

The doctrine of nationality as we recognize it today has taken root but slowly. For a long time it remained untaught and unrecognized. Feudal warfare continued to arrest the spirit of nationalism. The age of feudalism made possible many groups, all with different objectives, and all failing, in their quest for power, to give definite expression to a nationality. During this period nationality was much as it had been with tribal man: selfish, revengeful, and utterly devoid of a national or common spirit on the part of the people. Surely there was little to the doctrine of nationality when feudal kings continued to emulate the French king, Charles the

Simple, who created Rollo, the Viking adventurer, first duke of Normandy.

Historians like to ascribe the rise of nationalism to the horrors which the civil wars of Italy wrought in the mind of Dante, who, seeing the cities of his beloved land drenched in warfare, cried out against it and glimpsed, in his anguish, a united Italy. But centuries had to elapse before Dante's inchoate vision was to assume form. Dante was but visualizing man's instinctive love for the land of his birth. But this instinctive love of native land required an objective before it gave vision to nationality. This came with the rise of commercialism. The world, however, had to experience the age of feudalism and the wars of religion before modern nationality could take on definite form.

Nationality, as we know it, emerged from its feudal obscurity with the rise of commercialism. Then the common wants or desires of man were tremendously multiplied, and in time the quest for their satisfaction became the national or political objectives, not only of the people but of the state. But this did not happen quickly. Before commercialism became firmly rooted as the principle upon which our present-day nationality arose, the old feudal system of fealty to the overlord and bondage to the soil, had to be destroyed. It is only within the last two centuries, with the decline of monarchical and autocratic government, that our modern nationality definitely crystallized around commercialism. This grew more evident as the commercial aims of the

people became certain definite political objectives of the state. As we know nationality today, it rests on the wants of man; and the satisfaction of these wants it is that determines the State's political or national attitude.

The degree in which men enjoy common wants or desires and seek their satisfaction creates the nucleus around which nationality centers. The enjoyment of common wants is determined in the main by geographical boundaries, by our physical environment, while the pursuit of the satisfaction of these wants leads to common understanding. Every nationality must have a center of function, and that particular territory, the land in which it flourishes, we call the nation. It is the common geographical limitation which lies at the base of all environment and which, in the main, determines our common wants. Out of our wants, held in common, arises the spirit of unity; and it is this spirit of unity, employed in satisfying both our spiritual, social, and political wants that gives expression to and articulates a nationality. With the immigrant who brings with him an earlier nationality, however, the element of time becomes a factor before he is fully in accord with our common wants. But nationality could never have arisen were it not possible for men either by sign, symbol, or word to have communicated to each other their common wants.

A means of communication, a common language, is the least dispensable of social factors. It is

the communication of one with another that permits of social contacts and the development and growth of similar customs and habits. In the development of nationality it is the common language which enables man to make a united cause and pursue common objectives. Without it, no consciousness of nationality can exist.

But is race too, like language, an indispensable factor? Undoubtedly race was a factor in the articulation of early tribal nationality, when the tribe was a very limited, local thing, confined entirely to the group activities and with marriage limited to within the group. But this condition could only have existed with the very earliest group life. From the dawn of light it was impossible to prevent the intermixture of races. Races have intermingled from the very beginning of the conflicts of human forces. The intermixture of races for past centuries and centuries has destroyed all racial purity among the white people: certainly among the peoples of the earth who have influenced and developed modern society. Race, considered as blood or descent, meant much to tribal man. This was due to the fact that the simplicity of life at that time permitted a greater solidarity of group life wherein marriage and all the other group habits and customs were the more easily controlled. But with the vast conflicts of the European world and the subsequent intercourse and development of the nations, this was no longer possible. The races freely commingled. Only among some of the small primitive and bar-



baric tribes—tribes which have resisted all inter-marriage—does race still stand for blood. When we speak of race today, what we really mean, in an empirical sense, is birth within a geographical area. And to be born within the area of a given land is but to be endowed with all its past and future irrespective of the land of birth of our ancestors. Such is the history of the peoples of all nations.

There are those who maintain that by race is identified something physical, something in the skull formation of the individual which casts and determines his mentality. They hold that the physical structure of the brain is different among the various races of mankind and that it is the difference in the physical contour of their brains which gives them diverse thoughts and aspirations. Yet who will say that it is impossible to educate the Chinaman or the Negro in the arts and sciences? And if it be contended that though they may be educated in certain subjects, they lack the capacity or aptitude for other things, among which is the ability to fit into and become a part of the nationality of the land in which they are born or reside, it is but to deny the very premise upon which the statement rests; it is but to deny the possibility of man's continuous mental growth. History proves that the people of every nation are composed of the intermixture of various races of mankind and that the nationality of any nation is but indicative of the common aims and aspirations of its people. But surely the skull structure of the individual must undergo a change not

only environmentally but biologically in the intermixture of the races, else according to the proponents of the theory of biological uniformity, the capacity for certain mental attainments exists only with certain races, and other races must be forever doomed to ignorance of them. This is a thesis no man can sustain. Nor can the thesis be maintained that the intermixture of the Jew and Gentile leads to a deterioration of either. The reader need but consult his experience to refute this statement when applied in the mass. Franz Boas has demonstrated, moreover, that the skull of an American immigrant does change within a single generation. The very fact that the intermixture of the races has and does lead to the formation of new races, and the fact that these new races, irrespective of the land of their progenitors, become identified with the nationality of whatever land they may reside in, destroys race of all value as an indispensable factor of nationality. Surely they offer a spurious argument who, in their despair of Judaism and fear of assimilation, assert that for the Jew, though he were to will his own assimilation and subject himself to the environment of another people, this is impossible. They allege that the biological laws of nature do not operate for him; that though the Jew possesses all the faculties and functions of the normal human being, nature confines him to a certain and special process, so that he cannot be assimilated. This is a species of reason which has permeated a part of Jewish religious thinking from the earliest

times. Surely a premise so propounded in our day either by Jew or Gentile merits little consideration.

Native birth is the vital, racial characteristic of modern nationality. It is that which indelibly ties us to our country, and gives us our geographical limitations and our common language as well as our physical characteristics. The distinct blood relationship has long since disappeared. The love for the land of one's birth springs as instinctively in the human heart as does the love for parents. Yet native birth, tremendous as it is, is not an indispensable factor of nationality, for, as we shall later see, a nationality may be acquired. One may not only submit himself to, but also adopt the aims and aspirations and ideals of another people; to declare otherwise is to imply that the human mind is shut to growth and development; that it can no longer exercise the faculty of freedom in thought; and that volition and choice are lost to it.

And is religion an indispensable factor of nationality? It is quite evident that in early tribal life, when religion was primarily a matter of customs and habits associated with the getting of the food supply, religion did exercise a vital influence in the immediate development of their nationality—in the determination of the activities of groups. But with the intermingling of the races, the purity of blood relationship was lost and the narrow selfish concepts, not only of religion but of all human understanding, gave way to a broader and more humane view of life to such an extent that today the relig-

ious differences of man have little or no significance in their common nationality.

It is the democratization of religion in our modern commercial society that has robbed religion of its tribal nationalistic significance. Modern nationality of today embodies an endless number of religious concepts. It recognizes the right of man in this day to acquire any faith he will, or no faith if he so chooses. The atheist of France is no less nationalistic or patriotic than the Catholic, the Protestant, or the Jew. Thus, every land where toleration of religious belief prevails is a denial of the supposition that an identity of religion is a necessary or indispensable factor to nationalism.

A common language is far more indispensable to a nationality than a common religion. Without a common language even religion is inexpressible, as are all common aims and aspirations. Moreover, wherever identity of religion is overwhelmingly predominant, the nationalistic aims of that country are farthest from realization. To say that nationality and religion are indissolubly united is to say that the religion of man is above and apart from himself; whereas the truth is that religion is an integral part of man, who acquires it as he does all other customs and habits. We search in vain for any Western country whose nationalism is determined by its religion.

To the Jewish people, as to any other people, nationality and religion are not inseparably united. Since the time of their dispersion the history of the

Jews has been an eloquent denial of this presumption. The Jew has but sought a haven, a refuge in which to worship his God, and wherever this has been accorded him he has entered into and become a part of the nation. If in the growth and development of the country he too has prospered, it has been but the natural result of an economic law. A nation grows and develops in the degree that its people do. Let this be remembered: The Jew has no land to serve other than the land of his birth or adoption.

Passed is the day of Judaism as a religion of but a people. The re-establishment of a Jewish homeland based on a religious principle will only repeat the history of those peoples of the past who sought to make a religious structure of their nation. And if it is intended to revitalize Judaism on the theory that it is the spirit of a nation, that but doubly emphasizes the fact that succeeding generations of Jews, in liberal countries, will be lost to its nationalism—though they will ever respect the scholasticism it may scatter abroad. The rise of nationality among nations as a thing distinct from religion, means that Judaism cannot serve in the capacity of a nationality for the Jews of the liberal countries. Their nationality today is that of the American, of the Englishman, of the Frenchman—the nationality of whatever land in which they happen to reside. Nationality today is more than religious conviction. It is the life of a nation; it symbolizes all of the common aims and aspirations of a people in its col-



lective capacity. The future of Judaism in the liberal countries of the world lies in a greater social adjustment and not in a political renaissance. With the political success of the Zionist movement assured, it is quite likely that the future will witness an ever-widening religious disassociation of the Jews of the Western World from their Oriental brethren, and that the Occidental Jew, the Jew of the Western World, will bring forth a more general and universal aspect of Judaism—a Judaism free to all mankind.

Nationality is thus entirely a matter of development, a matter of environment in which geographical location—the limit beyond which he can not go—and a common language are the determining, indispensable factors. But how is one to get within nationality, within its environment? He must either be born in it or adapt himself to it. In the adoption of a land one both expressly and impliedly agrees to adapt himself to the institutions and culture of his adopted land. And adaptation, the subjecting of one's self to the influence of the environment, is purely evolutionary, a matter of time, for one can no more resist the influence of his native or adopted surroundings than he can turn the rays of the sun from their course. To the normal person, adaptation thus becomes primarily a "feeling, living, thinking," in the idealism, the culture, and the aims of his country. In America it consists in a cherishing of the principles of the government, in an adherence to the maxims of society, in a respect for law

and order, in a spirit of tolerance and consideration for one's fellow-men. It consists in cherishing the names and deeds of the historical characters of the land and in the entire abnegation of the aims and aspirations of any other people in conflict with her own.

Measured by these tests, who surpasses the Jew in citizenship in the land of his native birth? Who surpasses him in his adaptability to the land of his adoption? Who surpasses him in his contributions to the moral and economic welfare of the land? Every man has his characters in history, and usually among all peoples these are the national heroes. The Jew is no different in this respect from all other men. The Jewish youth of every land is barren of historical characters other than the national heroes of the land of his birth or adoption. True, he reveres the patriarchs of old, but they are the possession of all peoples. In America, the historical characters of the Jew are the national heroes: Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson. He knows no others, and the principles they exemplify are the recognized aims and ideals of the American Jew.

But some who are prone to charge the Jew with alienism allege that he is foreign to our customs, to our ways and manners, and to our culture. Surely it is not intended that any enlightened mind should take seriously such allegations against the native-born Jew. The native-born Jew yields to no man in his love of America, in the principles of its foundation, and in the structure of the government

as it stands today. His citizenship is exemplary; his contributions to the historical, social, and economic development of the land challenges comparison; and in his sacrifices and devotion to its cause no man surpasses him. With the recent arrival, with the immigrant Jew, much of this charge may seem well founded, but it is no better founded against him than it is against any other recent immigrant or than it was against our earlier immigrant ancestors. We are hasty in our attitude toward the immigrant's apparent failure to adjust himself more speedily to our ways and manners. It is no light task for the novitiate to throw off the old and take on the new, particularly in the matter of acquiring new habits, customs, and speech—in short, a new culture. Culture, of which there are many kinds, and which is but an adjustment in society, is entirely a matter of education. And we must not be unmindful of the fact that time alone permits of the building up of this new social technique.

The apparent native ability of the Jewish immigrant, his early contributions to the government as well as his individual success, make him logically the objective immigrant against whom all the discordant and opposing elements direct their bitterness. This selection of the Jew as the outstanding immigrant against whom the attack must be levied, becomes quite clear when we realize that the Jew stands out the more prominently because of the insignificance of his number and the hugeness of his

success. He thus logically becomes the central target in the attack upon the immigrant. But once the ancestral immigrant has passed on, he bequeaths to the land a rich legacy—the Jewish youth. And it is to the young that America, the land of the youth, entrusts herself. Neither the Jew nor Judaism will fail America!

To us then, an alien is one out of sympathy with our nationality. And what do we mean by nationality? By nationality we mean nothing static. We mean the dynamic—the life in the making—as determined by the solidarity complex of the nation, its dominant primal characteristics. If there be any one thing characterizing and determining the course of American life, it is its political and institutional history. Surely neither the native-born nor the naturalized citizen, in harmony with the political and institutional life of America, can be said to be alien or foreign to America, irrespective of his race or religion.

## CHAPTER V

### JEWISH RENUNCIATION

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the fact that some persons believe that only by abandoning their religion and race can the Jews faithfully and truly enter the social and political life of the nation, Jews of today need not renounce the Jewish race. It does not exist. For thousands of years the followers of Judaism have not existed physiologically as a distinct people. The long continued existence of Judaism as a religion, despite all controversy, has tended, however, to emphasize in the public mind the belief that the followers of Judaism have remained a distinct racial people. Whatever remained of their race as such ended with the Babylonian Captivity more than 2,500 years ago. Since then, the blood of the Jewish people has mingled with that of all the peoples of Europe and has steadily become occidentalized.

And what is this religion the Jew would renounce? The belief that there is a God and that God is One? Where is the religion of civilized man that does not accept that doctrine? Other relig-



ions may particularize Deity in greater detail—even to the point of His birth, death, and resurrection—only to end with the consummation that He is One. All religious ceremonials, their rituals and symbols, have a common source; they are all much the same, and whatever differences occur are but environmental. Fortunately, in the last decade the world has not moved in one direction only, downward. It has also moved upward. A long step of progress has resulted. To the mass, religious differences are rapidly becoming meaningless. The great death struggle—the World War—revealed the unsubstantiality of these differences. To the scientific mind, with but few exceptions, religious differences have long ceased to exist, and today it is only where religion and race prejudice may be made to serve some scruple or purpose that religious difference is whipped into fury and terror. Religious bigotry, true enough, is still to be found, but the age of today has shifted in the main to a psychiarity of social attitudes or values.

But what of the future of Judaism without a racial people? Will it die? Will it cease to exist? No! With the awakening of a deeper religious conscience in the world, the time has come for Judaism to enter upon a broader and wider field. But before it can do this it must be dissociated entirely from race. It must no longer be regarded as the sole inheritance of one people. It must become a religion free from race and open to all mankind. Could Judaism be dissociated from race, could the

Gentile embrace the religion of Judaism and be free from all racial issue, Judaism would strongly appeal to many of them. The characterization of Judaism as the sole property of the Jews was wrongly conceived and wrongly endured. It must be abandoned. Yes, abandoned by those very Jews who would keep Judaism as a private and personal religion and who believe that by so doing they preserve Judaism.

To dissociate Judaism from the Jews in the public mind is, likewise, no light task. Unfortunately, the world, though it has drunk deeply of Judaism, has looked upon it as the sole possession of the Jew. It has not been so, it cannot be so. No people can have a solitary proprietorship in any set of principles or belief. The Jew has long recognized that he has no sole right of ownership in Judaism. Right of discovery does not apply in the world of religion. Undoubtedly the early attitude of the Jews in holding themselves apart from the heathen world that they might retain a true worship of the Almighty, did much to cast this belief in the minds of the Gentile world; and undoubtedly there are some Jews who still profess this belief. But it will avail them little to cling to it. Their spirit must broaden out with the light of the day or be trampled upon and crushed out of the heart of man.

The theory of a "chosen" people has militated vitally against Judaism as a religion for all mankind. The notion that Judaism is a personal possession belonging solely to the Jewish people was

an erroneous conception, thrust upon them because of their unwillingness to abandon it for heathen worship. They never claimed it. Man in this day cannot conceive of a religion worthy of the name, being applicable but to one people. Judaism is an eternal and indestructible religion and with its dissociation from race it will become more definitely a religion for all peoples. "Mine house shall be a place of worship unto all peoples," was long the Jewish prayer.

The indestructibility of Judaism assures its eternal existence. It will survive without the association of race. Judaism is a religious philosophy which has derived its name from a people who first professed the belief in the Unity of God. The system of Judaism is imperishable, though there should be no man calling himself a Jew, and though the world should no longer think of the Jews as a people who alone cling to Judaism.

It is the consciousness of the Jew—in the indestructibility of his religion, in the glory of his ancestors, in the achievements of his people, in short, in his gifts to mankind and its hopes for the future—which holds him steadfast to his religion. Had the Jews no glory of the past, no history; had they been barren in gifts to mankind, without any hope of continuing or furthering those gifts, it needs must be that the Jew would have long since passed away.

And what would the Christian world? Does it wish the Jews to forsake their faith? Would it

have them cease to exist as a religious people? In short, would it have the Jews absorbed and amalgamated into the other races, and the religion of Judaism abandoned? If so, what is gained other than the satisfaction which certain zealous religious minds would derive from the conversion of the Jews? Would society gain or lose by it?

If society were thereby to be rid of race prejudice, of all racial antagonism, of all hatred for fellow-men, of all religious antipathies, the Jews might well make the sacrifice. But what would mankind then do for want of something to cast all its wrath and scorn upon, for an outlet for all its vileness and bitterness, for a base to lodge all its errors and failures upon, for a people on whom it might cast all its vice and degradation? And what must needs happen when they can no longer accuse the Jew of having killed Jesus? Then must the struggle turn inward! No longer could mankind hurl its vindictiveness, its spite and hatred, its madness and cruelty upon them! No longer could the Jew absolve mankind of its failures and errors, of its mischievous teachings and practices, for there would be no Jews. Then must the struggle begin anew! Then must mankind hurl its anathemas, its curses, its pogroms and race baitings, its ghettos and badges upon itself!

The Jew has passed; internecine strife prevails!

Oh, Christian! Can you not see that the preservation of Christianity is bound up in the preservation of Judaism?

Oh, Jew! If you would destroy Christianity, accept it!

The course of the Christian world in the past to win the Jew has been erroneous. It was wickedly conceived and maliciously executed. It was a policy of repression and persecution. It was wholly negative. By means of exhortion, of intimidation, of threats and violence, of persecution and damnation, it was sought to bring the Jew to Christianity. From the instant that Christianity felt its security, this was its policy. The numerical weakness as well as the political impotency of the Jews led to the adoption of this policy, an inverted one in that it failed to recognize that society progresses in an inverse ratio to the force employed.

If the Christian would win over the Jew, the whole attitude of hatred and reproach toward him must be abandoned. It will avail nothing! It is to the glory of mankind that man responds only to love and affection. A policy of affirmation must be adopted. The true Christian spirit must reveal itself; it must look upon the Jew kindly; it must trust him; it must open its doors to him and then both Jew and Gentile must abide under the inexorable laws of life.



## CHAPTER VI

### RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE JEWS

**B**EFORE we trace the course of the Jews in the Greek and Roman Empires and later, let us briefly set before us a short sketch of the ancient Jewish culture.

The religion of the Jews, like that of all primitive peoples, had its origin in the beginning of a social consciousness, when the human mind reached the stage of development where it not only was able to recognize but sought to attain the greatest of life's values. Primitive religion is social and a tribal or group affair. It is composed of the most vital of life's interests and ideals. It is found in the will to live, in self-preservation and in the food and sex processes. The manner in which these life interests are fostered by primitive groups is found in their belief in spirits, in their observance of myths, and in their magic and cult ideas; and all of these are felt to be a part of the life of the individual.

The development of religion is but a process of evolution in which the social interests become more elaborate and refined. Our social or life interests

are dependent upon the development of a social organization—a way to achieve and retain them—and without this, religion cannot develop. Moreover, wherever important changes occur in the geographic conditions as well as in the mechanism of the social organization—in the government—changes also occur in religion. The controlling influence, however, in the past as well as in the present, that which has wrought changes in our religious experience as well as in our civil life, has been of an economic nature.

The Jews present one of the most striking developments of all religious growths, passing from the lowest stage in the psychology of religion—that which excites wonder in the individual and is considered sacred by him—to the loftiest conception of morality, the unity of God.

The ancient Jew held sacred not only things inanimate—the rivers and the rocks—but things animate as well. Moreover, they not only were possessed of the idea of magic, but a review of their tribal names shows that they, like all primitive peoples, were constantly attempting to achieve contact with the supernatural; and their deification of the sheep was but characteristic of the early nomadic, migratory shepherd life which the Semites lived. It was the sheep that sustained life.

This migratory shepherd life of the Jews particularly influenced their conception of their God—Yahweh or Jehovah. Somewhere in history, possibly out of their early thought of the Covenant, the

God of the ancient, nomadic, Hebrew tribes had become known as Yahweh. The pressure of increasing population had forced the Hebrews, many centuries before the Christian era, westward to the pasture lands of the Jordan River—the land of the Canaanites. Here they came into conflict with the city dwellers, and a long and bitter struggle ensued between their God Jehovah and the God of the city dwellers, the worshiped idol Baal. This movement, extending through a long period of time, involved much tribal warfare. Their desert gods, too, became war gods, and the Hebrews in time developed into a fighting people. This migration, however, was of tremendous importance. For the Hebrews now moved into an agricultural country; not only did they change from a nomadic into a settled and indigenous people, but with this change came also a modification of their religious conceptions. Cattle became the sacred animals, and in place of sheep the bull became their deified object.

Throughout this whole movement Yahweh was anthropomorphic, undergoing many changes, even to the point of possessing kingly personal qualities. As the conception of God became humanized, the thought reflected itself in changed ceremonials and customs. A more direct sense of personal relationship was felt. However, the antagonism between the nomadic and agricultural tribes, and the types of religion typified by each, still persisted, notwithstanding the erection of a temple at Jerusalem. The continuance of this struggle was primarily induced

by the contrast which had developed in the social relations of the country and city tribes. The nomadic tribes of the Hebrews grew indignant at the class distinctions and the maintenance of luxury found in the cities.

With the advent of the Jews as an agricultural people arises the idealism of Isaiah. Isaiah, who was devoted to the nomadic life, frowned upon the wealth and luxury which appeared in their new city life. He cried out against the struggles which now arose between the cities and country towns, between the rich and poor. Isaiah advocated nothing but faith in Yahweh and the adherence of the people to the simplicity of desert life. The intense religious consciousness of the nomadic life of the Jews had already found expression in the work of the literary prophets Amos and Hosea, who had contrasted the simple life of the desert with the elaborate and decorative life of the city. Both Amos and Hosea, but particularly Amos, had sensed the idea of the supremacy of Yahweh over all other gods. Moreover, they negated political, economic, and religious customs. They abhorred the worship of the idol Baal, and the beliefs and customs of its followers. It was Isaiah, however, who carried this conception to the highest in his Messianic prophecy of destruction and final deliverance. Under him Yahweh was confirmed in supremacy over all the gods of the nations; and this was later sanctified in the Temple at Jerusalem when the many local idolatrous gods—the Baalim of the land—were

assembled as Yahweh's vassals. Yahweh is still symbolized in the thought of the bull-god, but the idea of the unity of God—of His being One, and of His universality, long the struggle of the priests and the prophets to attain—has now crystallized into the thought of the people. This is Isaiah's great contribution.

It is with the advent of the Hebrews as an agricultural people that they are brought into conflict with their neighbors. With captivity upon them Jeremiah rises to his height. The conviction had grown with Jeremiah that the religion of Jehovah did not depend on the success of the State. Yahweh had prevailed despite political disasters. To his followers, the misfortunes which befell the nation but magnified His power. Thus Yahweh came to be viewed as using all nations merely as instruments for effecting His sovereignty and will. His favor had to be gained and this could be done only through faith and purity. It was this teaching that Jesus later proclaimed with more characteristic tenderness and compassion than even Isaiah or Jeremiah had done.

Jeremiah placed no importance on national freedom. Faithfulness to Yahweh he likewise preached. Though abandoned by relatives, priests, prophets, and royalty, he remained steadfast; and though defeat was upon the Jews, he maintained that Israel had no need for independence for the people to enjoy Yahweh's blessings. With Jeremiah, the individualizing, the ever changing tendency of Yahweh,



ends. With him Yahweh assumes for each individual a personal supreme character: Yahweh is a spiritual personality—Him. Yahweh's triumph over the Baalim of the lands is now complete. This personal piety is Jeremiah's contribution in the development of his ancestral religion. It is under the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and only after many bitter struggles, that Israel's concept of God reaches its highest—that of a Universal, One and only God—and that the cry, "Hear! Hear! O Israel, the Lord, thy God, is One," becomes fixed in the thought of the people.

Underlying the whole moral and religious development of the desert or nomadic Jews lay the belief in a close relationship between God and their people. Centuries and centuries before Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Jews had conceived the idea of a direct relationship between God and man. This was evidenced by their belief in the Covenant, in the Ten Commandments, and in immortality. It was this concept of the Almighty that the nomadic or desert tribes carried with them in their westward travels and which finally prevailed in Jewish thought. This early thought lacked, however, the definiteness and fixity of a personal spiritual life which Isaiah and Jeremiah later associated with it. It matters not how or when the Jews may have originally conceived of the Covenant with God or of the thought that there existed mutual obligations on behalf of God and themselves; but it is significant that the conception of Jehovah, of God, changed with the

social relationships of the people, until the thought of God became that of a One and only Universal Law-Giver whose laws must be obeyed. This was the moral and religious development which the Jews had attained when Greek culture or Hellenism overtook them.

The religious development of the Jews had kept close to the moral life—so close in fact that it is difficult to distinguish the two. Righteousness and doing the will of God were the moral and religious guides of all Jewish life. The fact that the Jews believed in a One and only universal God made possible the deep integration of their moral and religious life. Moreover, the integrity of the religious and moral life of the Jews had permitted them to view Judaism as a religion bound up with the good of the nation. On the contrary, Hellenism, taking as its religious base the Homeric mythology, had developed along entirely different lines. The worship of the Greeks of their many ever changing gods, who were believed by the people to guide and determine the success of all their activities, not only led to a disintegration of the religious but of the moral life as well, in that men not only sought the favor of special gods but were led to create new ones. Thus Hellenism with its disintegration of the moral and religious life came to view religion from the standpoint of the individual, which not only led to a life of worldliness on the part of the people but manifested itself in their early cultivation of poetry, art, and sculpture, in adoration of their gods.

The belief that the gods affected the destinies of men on earth led the Greeks to visualize life in its reality, in all its practical or worldly aspects—with the result that the Greeks exhibited little or no emotion in their religion. While the Hebrews looked upon national calamities, not only as misfortunes but as divine rebukes, the Greeks attached no divine significance to them except as a manifestation of the displeasure of their god. They viewed disasters but as facts or conditions to undo which they had but to appease their god, and in this they frequently sought the aid of mightier gods. Thus the Greek, who had a god for every form of natural phenomena, as well as for all the activities of man, in the deification of his God brought his heaven to earth. Hellenism, while it symbolized a lack of emotion or feeling in religion, yet manifested an intense passion for martial prowess, for intellectual and physical activity, and for life in all its aspects.

The vital distinction between the ancient Hebrew culture and Hellenism lay in the fact that the Greek spiritual concepts developed along practical lines, along a line of demarcation or limitation of deity, whereas Judaism's religious concepts would permit of no line of demarcation or limitation of God. It was the development or evolution of the Greek concept of reality for his God that brought on the clash between Hellenism and Judaism.

The Greek culture, in particular, developed out of the relation of the individual to the social and political order, not out of the spiritual life as did the

culture of the Jews. With the Greeks it was a struggle of class interests—of life. Gradually out of this struggle developed the idea of a state which stood for the organization and cooperation of all life. Hellenism was a vindication of the social nature of man, of individualism in the highest sense—that is, the full development of man's capacities into a rational and harmonious life.

The world had reached its spiritual and moralistic height in the religious and moral conceptions of the Jews—conceptions which they had developed while living a free and unfettered religious life. Though the Jews had known much of worldliness from their early history, they had yet subordinated it to their religious life. It was inevitable, however, in the course of events, that in contrast with their development of and adherence to their lofty conceptions of religion and morality, the realities of life itself should become dominant in the thought of some people. The day of the practical, of the realities of modern life came with the Greeks, with the advent of Hellenism. It was ordained in the social, political, and religious evolution of man that these two systems or theories of life, the one practical, the other idealistic or moral, should clash. And they did, reaching their crisis in the birth of Christianity.

It is the prominence that life itself assumes with the Greeks that brings the teachings of the Jews to the light of the modern world. The clash between Hellenism and Judaism revealed two systems of

philosophy, one the practical aspects of life, free from spiritual guidance, as declared by the Greeks, and the other, the guidance of life by the spiritual law, as declared by the Jews. The Greek life was free and unfettered by rules of conduct—it was a fatalistic life, requiring no guidance in contrast with the life of the Jew in which all daily activities were governed by the law. And the Church of Rome, while it purports to rest its right to temporal and spiritual power on the famous Petrine doctrine of supremacy: “. . . and upon this rock I will build my church. . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,” was but asserting, in these reported words of Jesus to Peter, this old Judaic moral doctrine: that the daily activities of man should be guided and directed by the spiritual law—a theory the Jews of this day have not entirely abandoned. While the Jews asserted this doctrine in a moral, the Church came to assert it in a social and political sense as well.

The Jews were not opposed to the Greek culture or to their elaboration of the practical aspects of life. When, however, it was sought to impose the every-day life upon a paganistic and mythological concept of Deity, and to base Deity on the Olympian Gods, on the Eleusinian Mysteries, and on demigods, as well as to indulge in gross superstition, in hero and idol worship, the Jews feared for their faith



and would have none of it. Their religious thought, the identification of deity, not life itself, was what the Jews decried. The Jew, having attained the conviction of a One and only God, would not yield it to enjoy worldliness.

It is folly to suppose that the Jews were different from any other people of the time. Undoubtedly, they had their prejudices, their likes and dislikes. To assume or to grant that they were free from the common failings of man is to bestow upon them a superiority they did not possess. True it is the Jews in turn were disliked and that their religious rites and ceremonies were held in contempt. It is not strange that this attitude of the people toward the Jews should have been manifested. The Jews were following a religious and moral belief different from that of the other peoples of the time, and their continuation and development of their religion did not permit of close social contacts with other peoples. The Jews, moreover, like the other peoples of the time, experienced political troubles with their neighbors. Through Judea northward lay the high-roads leading to the Kingdom of the Hittites, Syria, Assyria, and Babylon, and to the southward lay Egypt. It was a country, as one author declares, "destined to a stormy history." This location had involved the Jews in many wars—sometimes successfully, more often unsuccessfully—with Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. With the fall of Josiah, the last Judean king, in 608 B. C., that country fell under Egyptian rule and remained for more than 400

years thereafter, until the rise of the Maccabees, under foreign domination.

It will be observed, however, that the Jews, during the consolidation of their kingdom and under their prophets, had enjoyed a normal evolution—peace and warfare, liberty and subjection. It was during this earlier period, while the Jews were enjoying a free and unfettered life, that they had developed their religious and moral teachings to the utmost. And notwithstanding their later defeats, and the fact that great numbers of their people had been in captivity, these misfortunes had not damned up the onward stream of their life. Their conquerors had not imposed conditions and restrictions which had denied them the enjoyment of a free and untrammelled religious life. That they were free from special discrimination is well evidenced by the fact that in the Roman Empire at its very height, Judaism was a recognized and accepted religion. What restriction existed was of a political nature and frequently changed with the emperor. The ghetto, the badge, the restrictive vocations, the later religious hate and contumely, as well as the necessity for mankind of a people on whom it might cast its wrath and anger, were unknown to the ancient world. These were to be the special contributions of the philosophy of later centuries.

Let us now inquire a little on how the Jews fared under the Hellenistic rule of both the Greeks and Romans.

The Jews had long been residents of the Asiatic

world. Centuries and centuries before the Greek influence reached the Eastern World, the Jews had settled throughout the Mediterranean seaports in Turkey, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Judea. In Alexander's time they had penetrated into all parts of the then known civilized world. Their dispersion in the Hellenistic world was much favored by Alexander, and later by their Seleucid masters who settled many Jews, some as colonists, others as slaves, in the cities they founded. The whole history of the Jew reveals them a migratory people. As early as 700 B. C., the Phoenicians, a Semitic trading people, had founded Carthage. Thence they had spread to Spain and along the whole African coast. Jews, moreover, had experienced captivity under Babylon and Assyria, from which countries many of them never returned. These wide extremes of territory between Carthage and Babylon, in Assyria and Persia, and along the whole coast from Africa to India show the immense range of territory occupied by the Jews at an early date. And this Eastern dispersion of the Jews continued down to and through the Roman Empire. This is best evidenced by the early travels of the Christian missionaries, especially Paul. There is little question that Paul, as well as the other apostles, carried his cause in the beginning to the Jews in Galatia, Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem. Notwithstanding the fact that great numbers of Jews were to be found in Greece and Rome at an early day, the Eastern World continued to maintain by far the greater number of Jews

throughout the whole period of the rise and fall of Roman Empire. As a matter of fact, the great mass of Jews up to 500 A. D., were to be found in Asia Minor, with centers in Babylon and Jerusalem.

Judea fell to Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. Under him and his immediate successors, the Jews remained in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberty. To such an extent, in fact, did the Jews enjoy their religious liberty that they felt free to spread their faith. The first direct contact of Hellenism and Judaism found the Jews launching a great proselytizing campaign. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek before 300 B. C. made possible their great effort. This translation of the Old Testament into Greek proved of inestimable importance to the later-day apostles who, when carrying their mission to the gentile world, brought the Scriptures before the people in the only language they knew—Greek. The Hellenistic world, however, could not be won away from its mode of life by Judaism. The task remained for Christianity.

The free and unfettered moral and religious life which the Jews had enjoyed before their contact with Greek life was not seriously interfered with for many years during the Hellenistic period. It was with the establishment of the Syrian Empire, which had after the death of Alexander gradually wrested from Egypt political control over Judea, that the Jews were to suffer a bitter experience. Not until the time of the thoroughly Hellenized Seleucid monarchs of Syria, however, about 150 years after

the death of Alexander, to whom loyalty and devotion became synonymous with the religion and politics of the Greeks, were the Jews seriously threatened, even in Syria.

It was apparent at any early date, from the very first contact of Hellenism and Judaism, in fact, that Judaism was to be forced on the defensive. The great struggle to maintain its faith and ideals was at hand. Alexander's armies had carried to the Eastern World their native Greek culture which, on coming in contact with Eastern life, became tinged with Orientalism. It was this mixed Hellenistic culture which thereafter dominated the then Eastern World. While the distinctive features of Hellenism—art, literature, science, and worldliness—predominated, they were augmented by oriental habits of ease and sensuality. This new life greatly appealed to the masses, and as its influence and power spread throughout the entire Eastern Mediterranean basin, the proselytizing efforts of the Jews as well as their resistance to the Greek mythological religious culture was resented throughout the Empire. Particularly was this true in Syria which had by this time gained political dominance over Judea. Syria, with the exception of Judea, had become thoroughly Hellenized, though Hellenism itself had won many converts among the Jews. To such an extent, in fact, had the Greek fusion succeeded among the masses, that when Antiochus visited Jerusalem, he was welcomed in Greek fashion by a torchlight procession. But the scribes



and their disciples bitterly opposed the religion of Hellenism. The Syrian monarch, Antiochus Epiphanes, was determined to secure religious conformity: he meant to Hellenize the whole of his Empire. He resented the attitude of the pious Jews and the priests who opposed him, and sought the destruction, by sword, of Judaism.

Throughout this whole issue with Syria, the issue of political power was involved. Syria was constantly threatened with revolt from many sides. Not only had the Jews resisted Greek religious culture, but they too chafed under the political domination from which they suffered. They too would establish their ancient kingdom. In forcing the Jews to abandon Judaism, Antiochus sought not only to Hellenize his Empire completely, but in the main to strengthen it politically. He hoped to rid himself of the Jews both as political and religious enemies.

The political and religious efforts of the Jews, interwoven as they were, were in vain, however, until the Jews in 165 B. C., under Judas Maccabaeus, smarting under the heavy religious persecution which denied them the right to observe the Sabbath, and provided for the erection of heathen altars in their places of worship, seized the opportunity which the political difficulties of the Syrian monarch afforded, and revolted against him. After more than twenty years of guerilla warfare, the Jews regained their political and religious freedom under Simon, the brother of Judas. The vindication of religious

liberty as the inviolable right of mankind is Judea's contribution in this struggle. Under Simon's son, John Hyracnus, the national life of the Jews reached its apex. Despite the bitter struggle between the pious Pharisees and the worldly Sadducees this period continued, though precariously, under the ever weakening Maccabean rulers, until Judea fell to the Roman Pompey in 63 B. C.

In the Hellenistic world, the Jews suffered no prescribed occupational or trade restrictions. At that time trade had not reached the competitive basis it was later to attain under a money economy. In fact, trade before the sixth and seventh century A. D. was almost entirely of a barter character. Jews were in the main artisans of all kinds, weavers, cattle breeders, agriculturists. Merchants and money-lending was a thing little practiced. The trading habits, however, of the Phoenicians—a Semitic people, and by some authorities believed to be of Jewish origin—as hereinbefore noted, had long given prominence to trade between the peoples of the Mediterranean basin.

The Jews, like most peoples inhabiting the Mediterranean seaport towns, had undoubtedly, from an early period, developed a commercial class. Their wide dispersion afforded them a distinct advantage. Their trade relations did become pronounced, however, under the Maccabees, whose policy of international alliances, especially with Rome, had long favored commercial development. In the fine arts the Jews had accomplished little. A reason for this may

be found in the fact that their religious prejudice against idolatry and the making of graven images had deprived them of a most inspiring force.

Notwithstanding the feeling and resentment of the Hellenistic world against the Jews, the free and unfettered religious life which they had enjoyed under their Persian and Medean rulers was not seriously interfered with in the Hellenistic Age, with the exception of the period of the Syrian wars. Moreover, the early translation of the Scriptures into Greek and their introduction into the many communities in which the Jews were settled, had brought many pagan and gentile admirers to their faith. And Judaism became increasingly popular after the Stoic and Epicurean cults abandoned the worship of their ever changing mythological gods. As a matter of fact, Judaism was the religion of the educated classes during the Hellenistic period.

Throughout the centuries during which Greece dominated the Asiatic world, the Gauls, a people inhabiting Italy, slowly rose to power. From their legendary first king, Romulus, who was supposed to have founded the city of Rome as early as 750 B. C., the people acquired the name of Romans. As far back as 275 B. C., the supremacy of Rome in Italy was acknowledged, and with this event the name Romans was definitely stamped on the people. With the close of the struggle against the Carthaginians—the Punic Wars—the rise of the new power was established, and by 146 B. C. all Greece was practically subject to Rome as a dependency of the Roman

province of Macedonia. From that time, Roman power grew rapidly until, in 64 B. C., Syria, and Judea a year later, was taken over by the Romans. With the fall of Egypt in 30 B. C. the authority of the Mediterranean World passed completely to the Romans, and what we know as the Roman Empire began with the imperial rule of Augustus Caesar in 29 B. C., continuing to the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A. D., when the barbarians overthrew the Western Emperor, Romulus Augustus, and proclaimed their leader Odoacer, king.

With the establishment of the Roman Empire, the Roman legions merely replaced the Greek phalanxes. Otherwise there was little change in the Greco-Roman World. The Greek concepts had in the main been taken over by the Romans long before the final success of their arms. Thus the Hellenistic cultural forces continued to flow in much the same channels. The Greek language, being the common means of intercourse between the nations, continued to flourish as did trade and commerce, under Roman domination. The fusion of the races which had set in with the advance of the armies of Alexander, was accelerated by the condition of law and order which the Romans maintained throughout the Empire. The Romans, however, contrary to the earlier attitude of the later Greeks, made no effort to control or direct the traditional, social, or religious life of their subject peoples. They left them like Alexander, to their own civilization. Very early, however, the life of the Romans had become tinged with

Orientalism, and it was not long before slavery, luxury, excessive wealth, and a sensuality loving society appeared in an already worldly atmosphere in the city of Rome.

In the evolution of life, of which religion is but a phase or part, Judaism must not be thought of as a thing evolved apart and distinct from all life. Rather must it be considered as the evolution of a religion within much greater forces. Judaism possesses no evolutionary character all its own. It is only a part of the greater stream of life and as such has not escaped the influences of the greater movements in life, even though it has given rise to them. In truth, it has been and is but a thing evolving within greater evolutionary developments, Hellenism and Christianity.

The struggle between the Greek philosophic concept of a practical world with its concrete system, its limited mythological gods, and the Judaic moral and spiritual concept of the Almighty, as One and Universal, incapable of limitation or demarcation by man, had continued through the centuries, not however without change or effect on each other. The many mythological and ever changing gods of the Greeks had gradually yielded in part to the Judaic concept of a One and only universal God. The deification and worship of the emperor by the Romans, though resting on the sword, was symbolic of their abandonment of other gods. Yet the Hellenic concept of the concrete, worldly manifestation of Deity persisted in their belief that the emperor was Deity.



The direct effect of Hellenism upon Judaism had been to liberalize Judaic thought particularly with reference to the individual. Under the Messianic Hope of the Jews, the individual was bound up in and subordinated to the national good. It was the nation that would be delivered out of sin in the new kingdom of righteousness that was to come, and hence the thought of the nation or the national good had been accentuated above all else. This idea of the dominance of the nation and the subordination of the individual, was fully reflected in the spiritual law, in that the social or daily life of the individual was fixed and determined by it. Freedom and choice he could not exercise. Thus the individual occupied but a small field in ancient Judaic thought. It was this idea of the subordination of the individual to the good of the nation that Hellenism—the greatest movement of individualism the world has ever known—jarred in its struggle with Judaism. And this old Judaic thought, with which the Hegelian philosophy was later to saturate Germany, declared that the good of the nation required the sacrifice of the individual. There was this difference, however. While the Jews based their theory of the subordination of the individual to the good of the nation upon a moral and spiritual concept, Germany based its concept of the subordination of the individual to the nation upon a practical and material concept—the deification of the state.

The world, at the beginning of the Roman Empire, had moved rapidly and distantly from the at-

titude of ancient Judea. The modern world had appeared with all its statecraft and science, with all its woes, its sufferings and misfortunes. Judaism still rested on its indestructible concept of the Unity and Universality of God. The world, however, had long been seeking a new force to unite the growth in its practical life with growth in its spiritual life. This force had been slowly growing in the idea of individual redemption, a thing the Jews had long sought but long suppressed. It rose with the liberalization of Judaic thought in the individual.

The idea of the redemption of the individual in Jewish thought lay but dormant. It could not die. It was imbedded too deeply in the Judaic concept of the Almighty, for not only had the people, under the prophets, developed a consciousness of sin—that death came through sin alone—but from the earliest times, they had conceived God as the Savior of their nation and the Redeemer of his people. But the national and political struggles of the nation had tended to cast the fate of the individual as well as the idea of his personal redemption into the background. In those early days the nation or race came first. This was true of the Jews as well as of all other peoples. The force of the individual simply had to develop, to evolve, and it did so according as the fortunes of the nation waned and the masses found themselves thrown back for relief from their despair and suffering upon their own efforts. Moreover, each succeeding misfortune to Israel tended not only to increase the sufferings of the people but also to

weaken the faith of the people in their expected national or Davidic Messiah. Under the National Messianic Hope, it was through the salvation of the nation the individual would be redeemed. They were linked together. The continued sufferings and despair of the people, however, gradually forced, in the minds of a large number of the Jewish people, the idea that the redemption of the individual need not await the salvation of the nation; that the National Messianic Hope—the restoration of the ancient Kingdom of David—was futile; that it was useless to expect the Messiah to be a human warrior annointed by God, as the scholarly Pharisees thought. Instead, it was felt that the Messiah in his coming would assume a new character, that of a supernatural force or movement in which the individual would be relieved of his misery and despair. In this way of thinking about the Messiah and his coming—in the Apocalyptic or Revealed Messianic Hope of the Jews—we have the basic concept on which Christian theology was later constructed.

The Apocalyptic or Revealed idea of the Messiah, in which the salvation of the individual became the dominant factor, was not new in Jewish thought. It was older than the prophets. It was as old as man. It lay, however, submerged under the political hopes of the nation. The struggle with Hellenism, as a result of which the individual assumed a deeper significance in Jewish thought, quickened it with life. It was then that the idea of the Messianic Hope which called for the redemption of the people rather

than the salvation of the nation, took definite hold upon the masses. It was then lifted by the people from a place of obscurity in their thought to a more prominent place in their ideology. Already in Alexander's time this thinking of the Apocalyptic or Revealed character of the Messiah was common and before the second century B. C.—under the Syrian oppression—it had taken a well defined place in Jewish thought, reaching its height with the masses in the first century A. D., after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.

The Judaic concept of the salvation of the soul was too remote, however, for the Hellenistic world. That world regarded the salvation of the soul as bound up in the favoritism of the Judaic God and as such, unattainable. The fact that the Jews had associated God with themselves as his chosen people, and God the Savior of their nation, had led the ancient world to regard the God of the Jews rather as the God of a particular nation than as the God of all nations, of all mankind. There was then fundamentally no more distinction between the people and a nation than there is today, and though the Jews had long craved salvation—the same salvation of the soul that Luther later sought—the true significance of the Judaic concept of a One and only God as the God of all nations and of all men, was not perceived. As the Hellenistic World, however, increased in worldliness and the suffering and despair of its people multiplied, the need of individual redemption, rather than the salvation of a nation,

assumed a prominence in the religious thought of the people it had not known before for both Jew and non-Jew. The Greco-Roman world, Hellenistic as it was, accustomed to facts, to reality, to particularization, and ever avoiding the Judaic concept of a One and only God, continued to seek the salvation of the individual in its redemption or mystery cults, some of which flourished well into the Christian era. In the Greco-Roman world, as in the ancient Homeric world, the salvation or the attainment of redemption found its expression in the myth-thought of the Gods. With the Jews it was ever bound up in the Messianic Hope of a divine spiritual deliverance.

Individual redemption in the thought of the Greco-Roman world reached a climax for both Jew and Gentile in the vicarious sacrifice of the Christ—in the birth of Christianity. It was among those Jews who, because of the failure of the nation to realize its national aims and aspirations earlier, and who, because of their desire for a betterment in their physical environment, had become impressed with the idea of the redemption of the individual, through an apocalyptic or revealed Messiah, that Christianity took root.

In Christianity we have a normal attempt to bridge the chasm between the Greek and Hebrew concepts. The pendulum was due to swing backward. The Hellenistic World had swung too far in its practical and worldly aspects, in its denial of man's moral and spiritual integrity. Judaism had



pressed deeply into the religious and moral life of the ancient world. Its vital truths remained. They could not be discarded then any more than now. In the nature of things, it was impossible then to predicate a new system on anything other than the past—on both Hellenism and Judaism. In like manner, it would be impossible to predicate a new religious philosophy in this day which should ignore Christianity or Judaism. In Christianity's doctrine of a divine revelation, its early monotheistic belief in the God of the Jews, its rejection of Emperor worship, and its reintegration of the moral and religious life, it is clearly Judaic. In its concept of the world manifestation of the Almighty, both in the Christ and apostles, it symbolizes the Hellenistic culture. In its emphasis on the redemption or salvation of the individual, it is clearly Judaic. But when it adds through the Christ it is again Hellenistic. The Hellenistic features of Christianity became more pronounced and its divergence from Judaism became greater as the fusion and intercourse of the early peoples of Europe increased.

The victory of Judaism was clearly emphasized in the religious situation at the beginning of the Roman Empire. The situation was predominantly one of Judaism. The policy of the age seemed to revive a religious interest in which Judaism greatly profited. Synagogues were erected in most of the large cities of the Empire; the Sabbath was observed; and the great festivals attracted large numbers of both Jews and Gentiles. The God of the Jews

was the slogan against the idol worshippers—the Pagans. Judaism at this time appealed greatly to the people. Its doctrine of monotheism, its ethical and cultural ideals, its doctrine of immortality, and its claim of a divine revelation, appealed to the Gentiles. It was among those Jews, however, who had become impressed with the idea of the personal redemption of the individual, in a more direct sense than earlier Judaism had proclaimed it, that Christianity most rapidly spread.

It is in the centuries after the birth of Christianity that the distinctive religious and racial persecution of the Jew sets in. But before we enter that period, let us again call to mind the fundamental features that characterized this earlier stage.

The past achievements of the Jews rested on their stupendous gift to mankind—that of a religious and moral life. It is a gift that shall endure for all time. The achievements of Judea were primarily those of a people or nation, notwithstanding the many illustrious names in Jewish history. The common nature of their struggles in the development as well as perpetuation of religion and morality, had cast their activities into a group or nationalistic channel rather than in the channel of individualism, such as had characterized the growth of Hellenism. It is, moreover, the work of a people to make secure a religious and moral philosophy, and to achieve this end it must be made an integral part of the life of the people. In this lay the strength of the Jews: they had given the most permanent expression to

their religious and moral life; they had lodged it in their literature. And from their literature it had again entered their daily life. It was the fact that the Jew was supposed to live his religion that made him untenable to the people of ancient times.

And again, what were the political and social conditions under which the Jews built their religious and moral philosophy? That they were not free from error or from the frailties and inequalities of mankind, we may accept as unquestioned. That they did not escape race enmity or religious hatred we know. No people or religion is fortunate enough to enjoy the favor of all mankind. Enmity and hatred are fundamental to human nature. They are an expression of our way of judging ourselves. Moreover, our emotions, our likes and dislikes, stand for something definite in the life of the individual or nation. It may be political power, as between the French and Germans; or trade rivalry, as between the Germans and the English; it may represent a financial state, like that of Europe and America; or be just a plain social attitude of religious animosity, like that of the Christian for the Jew or of the Oriental for both Christian and Jew.

The situation confronting the Jews up to the fall of Judea had been, in the main, a political one: an effort on the part of the surrounding nations, as they grew in power, to subdue Judea politically. Their position was not determined primarily by a dislike for the Jews as a race or because the other nations hated the religion of Judaism. The world

had been quite materialistic for a long time and it was the political domination and control over Judea, together with all that it implied, that brought the other nations upon it. Moreover, were not the Jews themselves imbued with the spirit of the time? Would not they too have established a mighty state long before the Maccabees and as late as Agrippa II? With the fall of their last king, Judea came to regard these political struggles not only as involving the loss of its political independence but also as threatening the destruction of the faith it had already established. Was not this true of the Hellenistic struggle? The motive of Antiochus in crushing Judaism was political; the defense of the Jews, however, was primarily religious—to preserve Judaism. But the nations were to learn that to assure the permanency of control over a subject people it is necessary to destroy or amalgamate the culture of the subject race. The fact that Judaism presented a fundamental truth in religious concepts, made it impossible for the ancient world, notwithstanding Judea's loss of political independence, entirely to subject its people. It was thus while the Jews were in a state of political turmoil, both internally and externally, but yet in a period of unfettered and indiscriminative religious belief, that they made their great moral and religious contributions to mankind.

In the early Roman Empire the condition of the Jews changed little from that which it had been for a long time previous thereto. The friendly at-

titude of the Romans toward the Jews which had manifested itself in their earlier treaty agreements with the Maccabees, continued. Notwithstanding the fall of Judea in 63 B. C., the Roman Pompey left the Temple untouched and inflicted little if any hardship or brutality on the people, in contrast with the hardship and brutality inflicted upon the people by the rival Judaic claimants to the throne of Judea. The denunciation of the Jews by Cicero in his defense of Flaccus may be regarded rather as the effort of the advocate in the cause he serves, than as a statement of the attitude of the people or state.

Particularly friendly with Rome were the relations of Herod the Great, known as the great friend of Augustus Caesar, and who, under tribute to Rome, reigned over Judea from 37 to 4 B. C. Under him a distinctly friendly attitude had been established between the Romans and the Jews in all parts of the Empire, but his wicked personal life and cruel nature did much to mar his achievements.

The Exclusion Edicts of the Jews under the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, both of whom had been placed in power by the army, may seem to cast some doubt on the friendly relationship existing at this time between the Jews and the Romans. The scope and meaning of the Edicts are not clear. Many authorities do not mention them and those who do are uncertain of their purport and application. We may conclude that, in the main, the Edicts were but political gestures directed against



what apparently was insubordination and a denial of the divine worship of the Emperor. That the main Claudian Edict was of little moment would appear from the fact that Agrippa I induced him to restore the Jews of Alexandria to their ancient rights of citizenship, which the governor had taken from them, and from the further fact that in the very year of his supposed Edict—49 A. D.—he granted Agrippa II the Kingdom of Chalcis; and with this went the authority over the Temple and the authority to appoint the High Priest.

The inauguration of the Empire by the Romans made for a change in political authority and power rather than in custom and culture. It heralded the rule of the army with all its dire consequences for the future of the Empire. Thenceforth the Emperors were to serve as long as they could control the army. But political intrigue did not flourish in the armies and among the Roman noblemen alone, for the Jews in their struggles for political power displayed among themselves a vicious and at times most bloodthirsty nature. From the very beginning of their history they, like other peoples, had engaged in civil strife. It was their repeated internal struggles over the succession to the throne that hastened the rule of the Romans.

Whatever conditions prevailed in special parts of the Empire, or whatever may have been the attitude of various Emperors—whose term of office in many instances was very short—the main import for us is to know that Judaism was a toler-

ated and recognized religion throughout the Empire and was above suspicion; that the Jews were to be found in all parts of the Empire, particularly along the Mediterranean; that they were Roman citizens subject to the general laws of the Empire as well as to the laws of their particular place of residence; that they were to be found in all classes that existed; that they were soldiers as well as slaves; that their main occupations were agriculture, cattle-raising, fishing, and vineyard cultivation; that they were artisans of all kinds and traders doing an export and import business, and also furnishing laborers for all other sorts of work; that they were neither the dregs of Roman society nor the elite and higher strata, but that as tradesmen, merchants, farmers, and artisans, they constituted a vital part of that middle class of society which is the strength of all social development; that they were free from religious and racial persecution, and that persecution against them, either racially or religiously, did not become a Roman policy until after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D.

The revolt of the Jews against the Roman authority had tremendous consequences. Politically, the Jews were destroyed; their nation was lost. They were outcasts and wanderers in the world; many of them were carried to Rome as captives—maligned and vilified. Not only did the revolt increase the hatred of the authorities who had long been involved in the difficulties in Judea, but it tended to arouse and embitter the feelings of the

people who now demanded that social and occupational restrictions be placed upon the Jews. More, it unleashed a tremendous outpouring of literary and journalistic diatribes of all natures and kinds which even the pen of Josephus could not stay. The defiance of Rome by the Jews, which came as the result of a long series of misunderstandings and misrule, changed their position throughout the whole of the Empire which was then practically the only civilized world—outside of Babylon. Where before Jews had been regarded with favor and little discrimination, the people now clamored for their expulsion and for a limitation on their activities.

Religiously the revolt had far-reaching consequences both for Jews and Christians. The destruction of the Temple was a shattering blow to the Messianic Hope of the Jews. It not only served to weaken and divide them in faith but it definitely forced Judaism to be on the defensive in its struggle with Christianity, without the organization of a political state to support it. And it is significant that in the spread and development of religious thought, all the great religions of history have had the support of the political state. Religion in the past has been spread by force of arms and Judaism has been no exception to this rule. It too had spread its spiritual law while a nation in arms. But of greater consequence was the revolt in the spreading of Christianity. For not only did great numbers of Jews embrace Christianity, but soon after the first

revolt there appeared the four Christian gospels, three of them unquestionably the work of Jews, while the authorship of Luke both as to person and religion is unknown, as is the date of the compilation of Matthew. These events following soon after the revolt renewed and intensified the faltering spiritual vigor and enthusiasm of the Christians; Christianity now sought to adopt independent nationalistic aspects. The Christians were now led not only to seek the destruction of the belief in the public mind that they were but a religious sect of the Jews, but also to ally Christianity definitely with the state.

The continued antagonistic political attitude in the succeeding years of the Jews, which showed no abatement, and which culminated in the second Jewish revolt against Rome in 132 A. D., not only intensified the popular feeling against them but was a strong impetus in the complete separation of Gentile from Jewish Christianity. Up to the time of the first revolt, and for a long time thereafter, the Romans had looked upon the Christians as but a sect of the Jews. The revolts tended, however, to emphasize in both Gentile and Roman mind a genetic distinction which certain classes of the Christians had been attempting to maintain between Christianity and Judaism, not with reference to any racial aspect but solely in regard to their religious and ceremonial symbols. Throughout the years, there had gradually been developing among the Christians a spirit of hatred and division between

those Christians who believed that converts to Christianity must accept Judaism before they could become Christians, and those who denied the belief. In the ever increasing spread of Christianity, the continued political disturbance of Judea tended but to intensify and establish the position of those Christians who maintained that converts need not observe Jewish rites. Even before the first revolt this question was fixing itself definitely as the chasm between the two faiths, and when at the close of the second revolt in 135 A. D., Hadrian, the Roman Emperor, incensed at the struggles and efforts of the Jews to re-establish their nation, prohibited the Jews from again setting foot in Jerusalem, the link which had held the two faiths together snapped. The Jews could no longer profess their religion and enter Jerusalem. From that time on, the Christian community in Jerusalem was a strictly Gentile or Christian church, and in a large measure was so regarded by the Roman World.

With their banishment from Jerusalem the Jews became fully conscious of the fact that a fundamental change had come in both their political and religious life. The migration of the Jews into Asia, Turkey, and Spain, which had followed the destruction of the Temple, was now supplemented by a second migration of the Palestinian Jews. It was primarily from these migrations that the Jews wandered into Eastern and Western Europe, the Western Jews of Spain later spreading into France, England, and Germany; the Eastern Jews of Turkey,



in the main, into Russia and Poland. The consciousness of the Jews that a fundamental change had come in their history found expression in the Talmud—a work intended primarily for defense, but with a two-fold aspect: (1) an exposition of Judaism for the Jews; and (2) a defense of Judaism against Christianity. It is a response to the Christian Apologists of the last half of the second century who, in their attempt to justify Christianity, had vigorously attacked Judaism. With the succeeding generations of Rabbis, the Talmud became largely expositive of the Scriptures and of Judaism, as well as encyclopedic. It was primarily an individualistic compilation of the Rabbis.

Yet, notwithstanding the revolts of the Jews and the persecutions which followed them, Judaism hung like a halo over the Roman world and continued to be a licensed and recognized religion throughout the Empire. The Jews were still to be found in the many classes of society that constituted the Roman body politic, and the constitution of Caracalla made certain the citizenship of practically all the Jews in the Empire. Legally the Jews still enjoyed a free and untrammelled religious life, but the social and political life was gradually restricting itself. Yet this age was not without its Judaic contribution and saw the birth of Josephus, of Philo, and of the two Talmuds.

The religious animosity and hatred against the Jews became stronger and stronger as the influences of Christianity gradually permeated the

political structure of the Empire. The political power of the state was soon helpless to arrest the growth of the spiritual power of Christianity. At an early day, Christianity had been disseminated in the ranks of the army, and it was not long after the death of Paul that Christianity became a deciding factor in the election of the Emperor. By the close of the first century, the official bishop was known in certain churches, and by the middle of the second century there were bishops and deacons everywhere. The Christian apologist of the last half of the second century no longer feared the venerable Emperor but even ventured to address him directly. By the close of the second century, Christianity had not only spread over the greater part of the Roman world but had vitally entered into the political life of the day. It had institutionalized and founded the Church on the model of the State. Moreover, the idea of the visible Catholic Church, uniform in faith and ritual, and built on state organization, as well as the conviction of the universality of the Empire under the Mother Church of Rome, was a common thought among the people of the time. The universality of the Empire was not asserted under Church authority, however, until the middle of the fifth century by Leo I, and not finally recognized by the state until 800 A. D., in the coronation of Charlemagne.

The tremendous growth of Christianity in the succeeding century—the third—must be evident from the fact that notwithstanding the invasion of the

Empire by the Goths and the Franks, and notwithstanding the persecutions of the Christians—which in the main seem to have been called forth by the political exigencies of the reigning Emperors—the Church was sufficiently institutionalized politically by 312 A. D. to win the support of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity. And by 325 A. D. the Church was powerful enough to induce Constantine to convoke its first general council at Nicaea where the teaching of Christianity under the doctrine of the Trinity was definitely declared. Moreover, to such power and authority had the Church grown by 390 A. D., that the Bishop of Milan debased and excommunicated the reigning Emperor Theodosius who five years later overthrew the heathen temples, forbade the Orthodox to hold meetings, sustained the hierarchical organization of the Church, and who, by proclaiming Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire, proscribed all other religious faiths.

The rapid growth of Christianity in the third century found Judaism stranded and alone. Judaism of all religions had remained to combat the spread of Christianity, but in this it proved powerless. In its combat with the Greeks and with Hellenism, Judaism had been fighting an alien force; but in its struggle with Christianity, it was battling with itself. In its growth the Church bears unmistakable marks of its early antithesis to Judaism and its proscription of the Jews. Hardly had the third century closed when the Church forbade Christians to marry Jews, and the Emperor Constantine both

proscribed Judaism and revoked the rights and privileges of the Jews—though these were later restored under his Toleration Act.

With the increasing political strength of the Church, there came a correspondingly increasing pressure on the Jews. Judaism was now laid low, but it still continued its struggle through the Talmuds. It was not long, however, before the pressure of the Church excluded the Jews from all public offices, and from the building of new places of worship, and before the harshness of the Theodosian Code mocked the glory and splendor of the Jews. The fact that Judaism remained a licensed religion in Rome and that the early Christian Emperors permitted the Jews to hold religious assemblies and to regulate their own congregations, meant little more than the fact that it too was called forth by the immediate political exigency of the Emperor. The Roman mind by the time of the promulgation of the Theodosian Legal Code in 428 A. D., was thoroughly Christian.

Thus ended the free and untrammelled political and religious life of the Jews. In its place came degradation and sloth. A new philosophy, a new religion, against which Judaism was helpless, had come into the world. The new religion was Judaism itself in a new guise and already crusted over with centuries of age; but it knew not its past. The Jews now sank into hopelessness and despair. No longer was the moral and spiritual grandeur of the Jews to shine forth, but in its place were to arise

new habits, new social attitudes, such as a fettered and restricted life always breeds, and which later-day Christians should so bitterly condemn. This fettered and restricted life was to last for upwards of 1,400 years, until the Renaissance and Reformation movements had culminated in the French Revolution's gift of a new charter of political liberty; until the Mendelssohnian movement had reincarnated the social and moral spirit of the Jews; and until the supreme sacrifice in our day had disclosed the emptiness of all religious differences.



## CHAPTER VII

### HOW THE JEWS DEVELOPED THEIR PRESENT-DAY HABITS

**W**E LEARN from modern sociology—from experience—that at the base of our social contributions lie our habits, customs, manners and attitudes; that our habits and customs, our culture in short, are not part of our natural endowment but are things acquired in life; that all our attitudes, habits, and customs have developed out of the two primal life forces or impulses—the quest for food and the sex impulse; that from man's very beginning these twin primal instincts have been directed toward selected ends, toward satisfying our wants; in short, that the struggle of man to perpetuate and guarantee his wants has not only led to the development of our habits and customs but has given rise, as well, to the conflicts and great complexes of our modern life. We furthermore learn that underlying all our habits, customs, manners, and wants, are our desires or interests in life; that these desires or wants possess certain fundamental elements

which all men enjoy. Such are the wish for security—both spiritually and civically—and the wish to associate with their fellow-men. These are the fundamental ends or wishes of man and the Jew shares them as do all other men.

Our wishes or desires, our habits and customs, quite naturally vary at different periods of our life, and modify in the degree that our experience and environment alter. It is that feature precisely, the adjustment of man to his environment, that permits of the continuous development of life. And it matters vitally whether the group in its adjustment to its environment shall be permitted to develop its habits and customs in a free and untrammelled way, together with the rest of the people, or whether it shall be fettered and restrained. It is in one of two ways that our social habits are developed; if the group is free and unrestricted, its habits and customs are largely a matter of the normal activity of the people. They are determined, then, by vital movements, by the crises in the history of the people. But if the people or group are not free and untrammelled, but fettered and restricted, then their social attitudes, their habits, their customs reflect one of two things: either a yielding on the part of the under group to the domination of the superior force, or the struggle of the under group not only to free themselves from, but to survive despite the powerful fetters and restrictions of their environment.

The Jews are an instance of this latter condition.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, three important factors determined the social relations of the Jews. They were: the attitude of the Church, feudalism, and the rise of modern commercial life.

The immediate centuries—the sixth, seventh, and eighth—following the break-up of the Roman Empire, were centuries of confusion and despair. It was a period in which the barbarians rose to ascendancy in Europe; in which the Church, holding together the remnants of civilization and supported by the peace-seeking masses, substituted the law of the Church for that of the State. Moreover, these centuries saw the rise of monasticism in the spread of the Benedictine monasteries. They saw the Church wrest the political supremacy from the barbarians under the administration of its Christian teachings. Out of these centuries of strife the Empire of the Franks emerged. These same Franks, but recently Christianized, appeared as the defenders of the Church not only against the Saracens but against all European unbelievers. Moreover, in this period the Papal See reached a state of eminence and bestowed the crown upon the Emperor Charlemagne who, after having accepted his crown from the Pope, became the first Crusader and spread Christianity by the sword, far and wide, through what is now France, Germany, and the Baltic States.

The growing power of the Church in these centuries in both spiritual and temporal affairs had but added to the discriminatory laws and regulations already existing against the Jews. At the beginning

of the fourth century, intermarriage with the Jew and apostasy to Judaism were prohibited and punishable by death. The struggle between Christianity and Judaism had left deep and ugly gashes; and the hostility and bitterness of St. Ambrose toward the Jews at the close of the fourth century is typical of the attitude of the Church Fathers at that time. The position of the Jews in medieval society after the fifth century is best disclosed, however, by the laws embodied in the Code of Theodosius (428 A.D.) and reaffirmed 100 years later in the Code and Pandects of Justinian, in which special legislation declaring and governing their status takes legal form. Drastic and debasing as was the legislation of these earlier centuries, destructive as it was of the remnant of the social and legal position which the Jews had held under the Empire, the three ensuing centuries saw an increase in severity and harshness of the law, with the result that the Jews were placed absolutely outside the ranks of all society.

The sixth, seventh and eighth centuries witnessed the growth of an exceedingly bitter anti-Jewish jurisprudence. Under it no person might shelter Jews whom officers of the Church were seeking; nor might anyone refuse to divulge the hiding-place of a Jew. The Sabbath and feast days were prohibited, and testimony offered by a Jew could not be received as evidence against a Christian. A separate jurisprudence existed for them—only subject to the will of the ruler. In Spain, where the Jews were accused of aiding the Moslems, all Jewish property was to be

confiscated, and all children under seven years of age taken from their parents and schooled in the Christian faith. But society never moves in a solid mass. It develops its own resistance. Either from without or within the movement, divergent currents arise to change or arrest its course. The onslaught of the Mohammedans upon Spain prevented the carrying out of this ambitious program at this early day.

The bitterness and hatred manifested during these centuries forced the Jews to seek a shelter wherever it might be afforded. They were scattered throughout the Continent. But the influence of the Church soon permeated everywhere, and as the cause of the Church advanced and the various barbarian rulers accepted Christianity, the protection of the Jews turned for them either into a baptism or an exodus. The great need of the oppressed and persecuted is a strong centralized government, if liberal and benevolent in spirit. The first of this character to appear in the Middle Ages was the government of Charlemagne, who not only granted the Jews a measure of protection but made use of them as tradesmen and messengers to the Eastern World. Yet, strong and powerful a ruler though Charlemagne was, he yielded to the request of the Pope and issued an edict, not only restricting the Jews to their own courts but prohibiting the admission of their testimony against Christians. This climaxed the excessively anti-Jewish jurisprudence which had grown up in the sixth, seventh, and



eightth centuries. The Church was now supreme, although the sway of its temporal power was yet to reach its height under the leadership of Gregory the Great and of Innocent III.

Thus had the Jews, during these centuries, both under the law of the land and under the law of the Church, been definitely cast in the social life. The normal and natural actions and reactions of social contact were denied them. Only under Charlemagne and his son, Louis the Pious—and here but in a modified way—were they permitted a measure of freedom. It was not long after Charlemagne's death before his Empire disintegrated and with it soon disappeared the scant State protection and support which he had accorded them. Now more than ever, it became certain that no law afforded the Jew protection; that no injury inflicted on the Jew violated the law; and that no wrong done the Jew need be morally righted. It became outstandingly clear that no social life was permitted him; that he was but the chattel of the ruler of the State or Principality; and that if he wished to live, he must curry to the will and pleasure of the ruler. Not, however, until the time of the Crusades is there any general infliction of personal brutality against the Jew in the mass.

It is folly for us to believe that the immediate centuries following the break-up of the Roman Empire were characterized by retrogression and backwardness for the world. On the contrary, this was a period of forceful construction wherein the people

were destroying the remnants of civilization polluted both politically and religiously, and were attempting to secure for themselves some share both in the land and the political life of the country. It was a period which saw the crystallization of both political and dogmatic Christianity; which gave birth to feudalism out of which nationalism later emerged; and which saw the rise of our modern commercial life. But these centuries which were transitional and formative of new habits of life for the Christian world were likewise transitional and formative of new habits of life for the Jews. This difference, however, obtained: the one developed habits which the normal life of the day permitted; the other developed habits which their restricted and fettered life necessitated.

The last three centuries had definitely fixed the status of the Jews not only religiously but legally. He was set apart from society; he was outside the pale of the Church and the law of the land. To survive, the Jew had to engage in those pursuits neglected and shunned by the rest of the world; he had to overcome the handicapping barriers thrown around him—barriers not only thrown around him, but their very operation and enforcement decreed and maintained. Cage the vilest reptile that lives and it will crawl restlessly and unrelentingly to every corner of its cage for a means of escape, a means of obtaining food, a means of living. So it was with the Jews. The inexorable laws of nature cried out for relief—for relief from the artificial

barriers cast around them, for association and contact with their fellow-men. The attitude of the Christian world toward the Jew, which these centuries had fixed, became more decisive in the subsequent development of the character and habits of the Jew, the more the Church triumphed, the harder the Barons fought out the issue of nationalism, the more awaredly the world awoke to its commercial life in the later centuries.

It is difficult to know the pursuits which the Jews followed throughout these centuries. Under the conditions then existing, their pursuits necessarily must have been limited. Their old occupations as artisans of labor had undoubtedly to a large extent been destroyed. But this fact was equally true of the Christian world. Centuries of warfare had destroyed all trade and artisan labor. There is no denying the fact that, from earliest times, the Jews of the Mediterranean World, like all sea-faring people, had cultivated trade relations, it being a natural habit formed by all seafaring people, and as true today as it was then. Nor can the fact be denied that the Jews had carried on commerce in a small way during the day of the Empire; but then the stability and order maintained by the Romans permitted the development of a large merchant class of which the Jews formed a small number. This commercial life, however, was lost in the wreckage of medieval strife and warfare to the Christian world.

Many factors, however, in this period—the sixth,

seventh, and eighth centuries—determined the course of Jewish activity. The most important factor was a disregard for, and the avoidance of commercial life on the part of the Christian masses. This was due to many causes. Warfare on behalf of the authority of the Church had become the chief occupation of the Christian world. All its interest and activity centered around it. Only in the Italian seaport towns had trade development been somewhat nourished and sustained with the Eastern world. To the Christian world of that day, warfare was the only honorable profession, and toil beneath the dignity of a gentleman. Moreover, the continued strife of centuries among the neighboring cities, as well as the struggles in behalf of the supremacy of the Church, not only destroyed the little trade that existed on the Continent but likewise made impossible any new legitimate trade development. Already at this early day the Church's attitude against the commercial use of money—the taking of interest—was known, but trade was of so small a degree and the Church authority so weak that the enforcement of the prohibition was practically ignored by the Church.

In this period, moreover, men's wants were simple, and trade, lacking a money economy as its medium of exchange, was primarily a matter of barter and exchange. The fact that those who would engage in trade were in a large measure forced to peddle their wares, and the further fact that the Christian was unwelcome in Moslem lands, and

could thus engage in little trade with the Eastern World, led the Christian masses in this age to neglect whatever commercial life was possible.

The primary trade motivation for the Jews lay in the fact that trade was unregulated and undeveloped. It was solely the affair of the individual in which he alone was master. It was this unorganized commercial life that afforded the Jew his only activities. And the very factors which led the Christian world to shun and avoid commercial life, induced and enabled the Jews to enter it. The fact that the Jews were not bound to the soil, and hence not subject to military service, afforded them a large measure of social freedom which permitted them to engage in and cultivate trade activities. In the Moslem countries, though the Jew was not looked upon with utter favor, he was yet more welcome than the Christian. This access to the Eastern World permitted the Jews to develop a trade relationship with the East, and though this trade relationship—after it had developed into organized and regulated commerce it became known as international trade—later fell largely into the hands of the Christian traders, the East at all times remained a trading center for the Jews. The commerce that existed on the Continent, moreover, lay primarily with the feudal armies, and these in their struggles eagerly sought whatever aid and assistance the Jew could render. Out of these early social and economic conditions which prevailed on the Continent developed the commercial habits which have endured with the



Jews to this day. And these very habits not only became fixed, but were developed and intensified all the more in the immediate succeeding centuries of feudalism.

During these earlier centuries when the hostility of the Church and the law of the State definitely fixed the social, religious, and legal status of the Jew, there had grown up the system of feudalism, which, with its bondage to the soil, its laws of succession to land, and its military service to the lord of the manor, only tended to intensify and more clearly mark the social, political, and legal status of the Jew. Feudalism was but the reign of private law. It was a system tending to afford some measure of protection to the individual physically, and at the same time to guarantee some relief in the adjustment of his personal wrongs. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, feudalism was the decisive and determining factor in the political, social, and economic life of Europe.

Feudalism thoroughly engrossed all medieval society. Its characteristic features—the oath of fealty which the vassal took to his lord, as well as his pledge of military service to him, and the lord's investiture of the vassal on the soil—resulted in the subinfeudation of all society from the highest class to the lowest. It was one all-embracing, land-holding system under which the Nobles and the Clergy, on the promise of maintenance and protection to the under man, in exchange sought his equipped military service. Under feudalism the real government

lay in the hands of the feudal lord of the locality. Only in England was the practice later adopted, of having the vassal bind himself to the king, as well as to his over-lord, thus establishing, outside of the local lord, a direct allegiance to a national government. From this system of life the Jew was barred.

Though the attitude of the Church and State had definitely fixed the social and political status of the Jew, it had yet been impossible in the earlier centuries to enforce their decreed position because of the struggle between Church and State, because of the warring dukes and barons, and the general disorder of the Continent. To a great extent in this age the disorder of society made impossible the enforcement of law, and thus nullified the Church and State attitudes. Feudalism, however, tended to stabilize all government; under it the effects of the attitude of the Church and State—their ostracism and proscription of the Jews from the life of the day—became more pronounced and destructive than they had ever been heretofore. The many small estates which sprang up under feudalism made possible a more exacting and effective administration of both the law and the Church decrees than had been possible in the earlier days of the barbarians. Under feudalism not only were the Jews made to feel more stringently and oppressively the laws of the State and the Church regulations decreed against them, but they likewise came to realize, more bitterly than ever, their own ostracism and condemnation in the social and political scheme of life;

and they knew there was no escape from it. Feudalism operated as an organized institution in keeping the Jews out of the life of the Continent.

The age of feudalism was but a continuation of the earlier centuries of strife and warfare. There was this difference, however: in the earlier centuries the struggle lay primarily between barbarian tribes; now it lay between the organized Church and the struggling State, both of which possessed definite objectives. Throughout the whole age of feudalism the Church, thoroughly feudalized, is the dominant factor on the Continent and reaches its pre-eminence in the pontificate of Innocent III at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Moreover, feudalism was the age of knighthood and of chivalry. It glorified warfare, mainly on behalf of the Church, as in the Crusades. It had been no uncommon thing for the Jews to be found fighting in the ranks of the barbarians, but from the Church's ascendancy, its proscriptive attitude toward the Jews barred them from active military service. But a more vital issue lay in the fact that with military service went the tenure of the land; and the Jew, barred from military service, was also barred from holding any interest in land. In this age more than ever, was toil beneath the dignity of a man; and now, more than ever, were the civil tasks, proscribed to the Christians, regarded as fit work for the Jews.

Thus from every angle, the Jew was outside the pale of feudalism. He was not bound to the soil. He was not called upon to render military service.

He was but the chattel of the lord of the manor, possessing no rights other than that which the lord deemed it fit to grant him, since the lord might dispose of his effects and his liberty as he saw fit. Under such a system in life what service or work could fall to the Jew? He was naturally reduced to the basest of tasks—tasks that were recognized but as low states of humiliation and degradation. Trade, a thing scorned by the Church and in which the Jew by reason of earlier centuries of activity was already skilled, he was permitted to engage in—under tax and license. Moreover, usury, proscribed and condemned by the Church, was not yet looked upon as a form of interest earned in the production of capital; but it was viewed and condemned from a moralistic and ethical sense, and hence likewise shifted to the lot of the Jews. In later ages, after commercial life had opened, this usury system was turned into capital account by the men who had been condemned to its service.

From these states of scorn and disrepute no traits, no characteristics, no habits of life could develop which might win the favor and approval of the world of that day. Traits of character which have served the Jew and all mankind well in this age, were then ignored and unrecognized. But these states of scorn and degradation were not without their effect. Though unrecognized, they yet fortified the Jew with valuable habits of life. They gave him a spirit of resoluteness, patience, courage, and independence. Above all, the pursuit of these baser

trades cultivated in the Jew the habit of self-reliance.

In the main the centuries between the fall of the Empire and the Crusades—the years which saw both the political and dogmatic integration of Christianity, and the reign of the feudal barons—had resulted in the definite outcasting of the Jew from society; his ostracism by the Church; his establishment outside the common law; his reduction to a state of serfdom under the will and caprice of the lord of the manor; and the annihilation of his spirit of culture and learning. Only in Spain, where a free and unfettered life with the Arabs was afforded him, did the spirit of intellectualism flourish; only the pursuits neglected and frowned upon by the Church were open to him—trade and money-lending. Though feudalism provided a system wherein the attitude of the Church and State toward the Jews might the more effectively be administered, the sparsely settled country and its wild disorder, together with the fact that the Church and State were still struggling for supremacy, continued to make the enforcement of the Church law a difficult and burdensome procedure. In the early centuries of the Middle Ages, the condition of the Jews had not materially changed from that which it had been in the earlier centuries following the collapse of the Empire. They were still free from organized physical attack on the part of both Church and State. Under feudalism, however, the earlier atti-



tudes of both Church and State crystallized into fact—into life.

The period of feudalism gave definite form and substance in Europe to the earlier transitory centuries of habit and custom-formation. It definitely organized and co-ordinated the hostile social attitudes of both Church and State against the Jew. Moreover, the growth of feudalism augmented the power of the Church. It made the Church more secure in its complete domination of the Continent than it had ever been before, and thus made possible a more efficient observance of the Church decrees not only against the Jews but against all people. For Europe feudalism served a two-fold purpose: first, it cleaned up the wreckage wrought in the political life of the world with the downfall of the Roman Empire; secondly, it served as a base upon which European society might develop a new social technique, a new culture, with new habits and new customs.

The height of Church activity in the Middle Ages was reached at the close of the eleventh century in the Crusades. The struggle of the Church to aid the Greeks in Constantinople and obtain possession of the holy places in Jerusalem from the Moslems, resounded with an appalling effect on the Jews. Like magic, all Europe sprang to arms. Inspired by religious fervor, by the Papal call, by a spirit of conquest, and by a desire for plunder and massacre, the Crusaders, under the papal remission of sins, drove forth with relentless fury and eagerness. Killing

the unbeliever became a righteous belief in the attitude of the Church and in the minds of the people. The Jews who, like the Saracens, were regarded as enemies of Christ, were massacred, slaughtered, plundered by the advancing hosts of the Continent. Under pontifical sanction, Jewish obligations might now be repudiated, and the wealth of the Jew might be seized to aid and equip the armies of the Crusades. Pogromism, personal violence, and the confiscation of the property of the Jew, became holy and sanctified. This was especially true in Germany and Austria, where the Jew was but a crown right, and within which realm he could nowhere reside without first obtaining the permission of the king.

The age of the Crusades inaugurated a new attitude on the part of the Church and State toward the Jews. A new life opened to the world, and with it came the period of vital difficulty for the Jews—the period wherein their persons were no longer spared from violence. To their earlier degradation and ostracism were now added physical violence and forced expulsion. This new attitude of the Church and State toward the Jew, that of subjecting his person to punishment and of expelling him from the country, became an institutionalized procedure in later centuries, as the results of the Crusades became more evident.

The effects of the Crusades upon the habits and customs of Europe were tremendous. Like all warfare, the Crusades greatly stimulated the life of the

Continent. They awoke Europe to trade and commercial activities. This awakening was quickly followed by the growth of town and city life. Venice and Genoa, already rising commercial cities, were quickened with a new life that permitted them to control the international trade until the rise of Spain as a commercial power. There arose, soon thereafter, the Lombard League cities in the south, and the Hansa League cities of North Germany, which retain their commercial importance to this day. The rise of the towns, however, found the Jews already inhabitants of them. At the time of the Crusades, perhaps nine-tenths of the population of feudal Europe lived outside of the towns and cities and were dwellers on manorial estates. The Jews, however, from their earliest residence in Europe, since the Roman invasion of Gaul, had gathered in the larger cities where a greater degree of protection might be had, and where their trade activity might be pursued with greater chances of success. The fact that they were excluded from military service and were not bound to the soil had from the very outset of feudal life but intensified this social habit.

A vital effect of the Crusades was the bankruptcy of Europe. Warfare then was no different from what it now is. At the end of the Crusades, all Europe was bankrupt. What wealth existed was held by the Church and the Jews. The return of the crusading princes precipitated a crisis for the Jews, then as did the close of the World War in 1918.

There was a wild demand for money not only from the commercial classes but from the princes and the Church. The Jews and the Church had escaped bankruptcy. But the princes, in their despair and eagerness to secure assistance, sought not the ever needy Church; they sought their loans from the Jews. The bankruptcy of Europe after the Crusades in the Medieval Age was the big event which threw the Jews into the modern role of money-lenders.

The outstanding result of the Crusades, however, was the rise of modern commerce. With the rise of modern commerce came the full recognition of the value and need of a money economy. Money coin as a medium of exchange had long been known. But the precious metals, gold and silver, had gradually been drained into the Eastern World and were not known in sufficient quantity in the West to permit of their use as a medium of exchange. Moreover, the science of modern coinage had not yet appeared. In the ancient and medieval ages, the precious metals were used for purposes of ornamentation rather than for currency. During the feudal age, money coin was most scarce and the little available was highly treasured. To the dwellers on manorial estates, among whom the system of barter and exchange existed, money coin was practically unknown. It was not until after the Crusades in the thirteenth century that silver was imported into England and a gradual substitution of money exchanges for barter inaugurated. It is but a commonplace that the Jews,

who were prohibited from taking part in warfare, who were held outside the pale of feudalism, and who were permitted to pursue trade relations as best they might, should have accumulated, in their long commercial relations both with the East and the Continent, a considerable portion of the coin money of the Eastern World. It was the early possession of coin money, now so eagerly sought, that had enabled the Jews in the past to act as bankers or brokers in the exchange of gold and other coins for Continental or manorial money—which in the main had consisted of but bronze, copper, and the so-called “leather money.” Undoubtedly this practice—already an avenue of wealth—became highly profitable under the new life.

It is neither a great nor difficult task to account for the accumulation of such wealth as the Jews may have acquired in the early ages. This accumulation of wealth is explained by the hostility of the Church throughout these many centuries, especially under its monastic guides, to productive commerce—to the commercial use of money—in other words to interest or usury. This attitude of the Church resulted in the gaining by the Jews of a large measure of wealth. Since the time of Moses, according to the Book of Deuteronomy, usury had been prohibited the Jewish people. While trade and commerce were negligible in that age, they were not entirely lacking. Whatever borrowing there was, however, was in the main required for one’s consumption and well-being. The ancient moral teachers of the Jews



quickly perceived this and regarded it as unjust to exact a premium in aiding one's fellow-man to sustain life. But with the growth of commerce the biblical prohibition, "thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything," was not construed by the Jews as a restriction against the taking of interest in the use of productive capital, for trade purposes. In the early and medieval ages the principle of exacting interest undoubtedly enjoyed an elastic and harsh use. The early Church Fathers, following the ancient biblical injunction of the Jews, and which later found a re-affirmation in the new testament—likewise regarded the taking of interest as a form of extraction, and therefore unjust. They, too, in the interest of both Church and man, construed the prohibition literally and regarded the taking of interest not only as an unmoral and unholy thing but as a violation of the spirit of brotherhood. The taking of interest was thus regarded by the Church as a work unsuited and unfitted to Christians, and was accordingly prohibited. Notwithstanding the fact that under the Justinian Code the taking of interest was permissible, the Church had refused to accept that view, and continued to regard the taking of interest on loans in any form as usury—and as such, prohibited by biblical law. There had always been, however, commercial activity on the part of the Christian world, but those in need of funds rarely applied to their fellow-Christians, whose act, under the teachings of the Church, must needs take the

form of a gratuity. The fear of the possible loss of his capital, moreover, as well as his inability to sue in the courts to enforce his usurious or interest-bearing contracts, precluded the Christian, in the main, from making commercial loans. Thus usury, or the taking of interest for the commercial uses of money, had become the chief function of the Jew in the early Middle Ages, from the moral as well as the commercial or practical viewpoint. And this moral view became the fixed legal view. By a strange anomaly of the law, the Jews could, while the Christian could not, sue in the lay courts for the recovery of his interest or usurious debts.

The law of the Church forbidding the Christian to accept usury, or interest on the loan of his money, and the prohibition against his suing in the courts to recover it, was vitally effective. This situation was primarily due to the fact that since the time of Gregory the Great, the Pope had been the chief law-giver on the Continent, and that in the main he had controlled both lay and Church courts. Thus the will of the Church, as expressed in its canonical law, found expression throughout the Continent. It was only in those parts of Europe where the authority of the Church was disputed, particularly in England, that the Jew might sue in the lay courts for the recovery of his usurious debts. This right was but a very limited privilege granted by the kings and barons who in turn used it as a means to fill their coffers. On the Continent, where the canonical or Church law prevailed, the entire legal capacity

of the Jews, throughout these many centuries, depended solely upon baronial and royal favor. They were without rights before the law; any kind of restriction or condition might be attached to their trade, labor, or residence; and the dispensation of this royal favor—even to the right of marriage—was a lucrative source of income to the royal exchequer. To a great extent this was true in England. Here, however, the Jews enjoyed greater legal privileges in their early years of residence. Here the growth of the law under which the king not only became bound to obey the law but likewise became responsible to the law, had its effect upon the laws governing the Jews. Though English laws pertaining to the Jews were but the private or king-made laws, they were interpreted by the king's courts and thus tended to give the Jews a recognized and established substantive jurisprudence of their own which even the king at times was wont to observe. He might, however, at any time disregard the courts and promulgate new laws relative to them. It was the rise of commerce after the Crusades which evoked the first definite regulation by the common law of the taking of interest by the Jews; the statute of Henry III. It was this statute which served as the model for all later European usury legislation.

The effect upon the Christian world of the prohibition to accept interest, a thing which the Church from the very outset had frowned upon, was to enrich the Jews, by placing the financial needs of the

Continent in their hands. And it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Church consented to allow the Christian world to accept interest, and then only in the form of a measure of damages. Thus the commercial use of money, viewed as an iniquity, was another thing thrust upon and confined solely in the hands of the Jews from the very institutionalizing of the Church. Throughout all these centuries, the incessant warfare, the misery and degradation of the populace, the turbulent and unsettled state of the social order, were added factors which tended to increase the wealth of those on the Continent engaged in the handling of money.

The stimulation of a new life on the Continent, its awakening to commercial activities, its recognition of the need of a money economy, as well as the bankruptcy of Europe, revealed that the Jews, though few in number, had commercially established themselves, in the life of the Continent. The Crusades not only revealed to both Church and State the wealth of the Jews, they vastly increased it. They gave a substantive value to the Jew's possessions, as they did all European wealth. While it was now recognized on the Continent that the Jews had acquired a position of power and influence in its commercial life, neither the Church nor State sought to know the cause—their religious hostility, military and social ostracism, condemnation to trade and money lending. The result, however, was realized: the Jews had won commercial prestige on the Con-

continent notwithstanding the restrictions and limitations placed on them.

It was the short-sightedness of the Church in the Middle Ages that permitted the Jews to gain a foothold in the commercial life of that day. It would not visualize the future of life in commercial activity. The view of the Church, that the pursuit of wealth, as well as labor, was ignoble, was a feeble one. The Church, however, carried these thoughts to such an extent, that it held the Christian world, in the main, away from toil and commercial life. The Church not only condemned the Jews to a life of trade and commerce but held them to it. Schools and intellectual pursuits were denied them. Only in Spain, under the Moslems, did a spark of intellectualism remain. Thus the entire mass of Jews were, as a body, turned into the proscribed Christian avenues of labor, trade, and money-lending. Only two things could result from centuries of such activity: the accumulation of property, and the development of successful trade habits. When modern-day commercial life broke upon the world, what did it find? It found the Christian unprepared! It found the Jew a skilled merchant! Moreover, it found him in the possession of wealth; it found him, above all, ready and equipped with business habits to utilize the opportunities of the new age.

And what habits and customs could the Jew have developed out of the then existing conditions, other than those manifested by him? That men con-



demned to certain lines of activity should have acquired a measure of skill and a degree of ability in the pursuit of their activities; that, detached from the soil and prohibited from engaging in warfare, they should have accumulated a part of the wealth of the country, is not a divine or supernatural achievement. It was but the normal and natural development of the social conditions under which they lived. But the awakening of the Continent to trade activity; its demands for coin money; the bankruptcy and distress of the people, together with the realization on the part of the Church and State that the Jews, through their wealth and commercial activity, had gained a position of influence and power on the Continent, caused a tremendous reaction against them under the leadership of Pope Innocent III.

The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the decline of the power of the Church in its struggle with the State. The strenuous monastic life of the early monks had given way to a life of luxury and ease. Men were no longer drawn to them by an irresistible religious impulse, but were inclined more to the new life which had opened before them. They were seeking intellectual and scientific pursuits. Schools and universities were rising. It was an age of disillusionment. The failure of the first three Crusades had broken the hold of the church upon men's consciences. The Albigenses of Southern France stood in defiance of the Church authority, and—what was more serious—Philip

Augustus of France had refused to aid the Papacy in suppressing them. England had rebelled against the authority of the Church courts and lay under the Pope's interdict. Moreover, the awakening of Europe to trade and commercial relations had strengthened the cause of the growing State with the people of the larger cities and towns. They favored the commercial awakening and were demanding trade privileges. The Church, which had long looked with disfavor on commercial life, especially on the commercial use of money, opposed the new economic, scientific, and intellectual life then arising in Europe. Though the Church for centuries thereafter maintained its power, it was keenly cognizant, not only of the growing independence of the State under the more powerful dukes and barons but of the fact that men were now questioning its authority.

The Church Fathers, zealous of their cause and ever appealing to the Pope for a more stringent regulation of the association of the Jews with the Christian world, were now joined in their appeal by the new merchant class which had arisen on the crest of the Crusades, and which was now demanding limitations and restrictions on the trade and financial operations of the Jews. Innocent III, fearing the growing unrest against the Church and hoping to destroy the growing independence of the dukes and barons—many of whom were using the wealth of their protected Jews to oppose him—and furthermore striving to recover the support of the

cities and towns, now hearkened to the cry of the Church Fathers and to the new merchant class, and summoned the Fourth Lateran Council for the purpose of disciplining the infidels, crushing heresy, and regulating the association of the Jews with the Christian world.

Quite naturally it may be assumed in this modern day that freedom of religious thought was the inexorable and inalienable right of man from the day of his advent on earth; that the Jew was and is, like every other man, entitled to enjoy his religious convictions. It is bootless to remark that the Jew by yielding up his belief might have spared himself all his past and present sufferings. To say this is but to indict all mankind and to negate all the rights of man; it is but a subterfuge whereby the will of one would become the faith of all.

What motives inspired the decrees of the Lateran Council? The decrees were purely political edicts, clothed with religious authority. They were inspired by the most consummate political statesman of the age. To such a degree had Innocent III established the theory of Church rule over the State, that in 1209 A. D. he was powerful enough to interdict all England successfully. Yet England's opposition to the decrees of the Pope was highly significant of the growing defiance to Church authority.

We are prone to believe that medieval times were greatly different from ours. They differed mainly in industrial and mechanical pursuits. Human emotions have changed but little. Much of the think-

ing of men in those days resembled our own. Selfishness and the desire of domination were elements characteristic of medieval thought, with the result that vision and liberality were lacking. It was so to speak according to formula. The wish for the repression and degradation of the Jews was as prominent in the thoughts of men, and of the Church then as it is with many today. The static concept of Christianity—that of being a revealed religion and complete in the revelation—only intensified this spirit of medieval thinking. There is, however, this difference: while the Church in the past affirmatively used the idea of the repression and degradation of the Jew, to sustain and enlarge its power, today this thought appears, in the main, only in reactionary movements, in efforts seeking to regain lost authority or power. The decrees of the Council were an exposition of this later thought.

In the earlier centuries, though the Church had dominated the State and definitely given form and substance to the social and legal attitude of the Continent against the Jews, the Church had not been unbearably harsh toward them. As the grip of the Church weakened on the people, its severity and pressure against the Jews increased. It was Innocent III who inaugurated the drastic, debasing, and persecuting attitude of both Church and State against them—an attitude which was to decree the many centuries of physical violence and forced expulsion which they later came to know. The whole previous attitude of the Church and State toward

the Jew, received a new and direct confirmation of a more separating and degrading character in the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1215 A. D. This Council, over which Innocent III presided and which did little else than decree his demands, condemned the Jews not only to slavery but to the ghetto. No Christian prince might bestow an office on a Jew, and in all Christian countries the Jew must wear a distinctive garb. Under the decrees of the Lateran Council, Jews could earn their living only in what the Church continued to regard as disreputable and degraded service: trade and money-lending. Under the decrees of Innocent III the proscription and badge of the Jew became universal within the Church Empire.

The Edicts of Innocent III definitely fixed the life of the Jews for the next 600 years. They definitely shaped and determined the habits and customs which the Jews were to cultivate and develop during those centuries and which they, in part, maintain to this very day. Nor were the effects of these decrees to be destroyed by the subsequent growth of nationalism. For though, in later centuries, nationalism swept away the Church's authority, it yet retained the Church's attitude toward the Jew, and in fact more effectively administered it. Not until the French Revolution was there to be an amelioration in the political and religious status of the Jews and in their social and economic habits.

With the rise of the Church, the great moral and religious teachings of the Jews had gradually gone



into eclipse. The Talmud had long been on the defensive. Yet notwithstanding the subordination of Judaism in the rise of Christianity, the Jews still enjoyed a measure of religious toleration, and were free from organized physical violence and forced expulsion. The toleration of Judaism by the Church had in no way hindered the growth of Christianity. Its enormous spread in the first thousand years of its history affords striking proof of this fact. It is the advent of schisms and heresies in the life of the Church, together with the awakening of trade rivalry on the Continent, that brings upon the Jews the state of organized religious persecution and personal violence to which they were subjected throughout the latter Middle Ages.

The Edicts of Innocent III, promulgated throughout the Empire, everywhere spread like a pall over the Jews. With their social and economic life fixed by authoritative religious and political decrees, their degradation was complete. They now sank not only into economic but into moral decay. From France, England, and Spain they were to suffer expulsion. Only in Poland, where the authority of the Catholic Church had not been all conquering, were they for a short time to experience a refuge under a vacillating state of semi-security. Not even the later Reformation brought them any relief, for the physical expulsions and personal violence directed against them reached a climax in Luther's subsequent bitterness and denunciation. The prescription of the badge definitely set the Jews off everywhere as a

people outside the pale of society. It confirmed by symbol the earlier Theodosian and Justinian manifestos that the Jews were a perverse, degraded, and inferior people and, as such, unfit for social contact with Christians. Thus what life, in the Middle Ages, could exist for a people so designated and regarded? Only the tasks viewed by the Church and State as base and degrading; and only contact with the dregs of Christian society were open to them; only contact with themselves in the Ghetto lay before them. Art, literature, and science were lost to them, and for more than 600 years after they were but to continue the cultivation and development of the so-called base and degrading habits of trade and finance.

The immediate effect of the Edict of Excommunication against Christian usurers on the part of Innocent III was more than ever to throw the commercial use of money into the hands of the Jews. It increased their wealth tremendously. It was not until the rise of commerce, when the need as well as the use of a money economy became apparent, that the question of interest and usury was brought into prominence by the Church. Without a money economy, usury or the taking of interest could not have been very successfully carried on, and though it was on record against it, the Church had never seriously attempted to enforce its decrees against usury or interest until the time of Innocent III.

The practice of making loans on personal property had not only been vastly stimulated during the Cru-

sades but was greatly increased thereafter—with the rise of commercial life. The refusal of the Church to consent to the taking of interest by Christians had not only thrown the demand for the use of productive capital into the hands of the Jews almost entirely but likewise threw the demand for personal and private loans on the part of both the nobility and the masses into their hands. This feature, however, was to leave its effect more markedly on the future, as the Jews lost the protection of the kings, as trade developed more, and as personal property continued to increase in value. This attitude was but another instance of the short-sightedness of the Church which, in adhering to its moral and spiritual ideals, failed to recognize that the world had opened to a new life. It was this long continued program, on the part of the Church, of throwing the commercial use of money into the hands of the Jews that made them modern bankers and pawn-brokers. It undeniably tended to gather into their hands much of the coin and manorial money of the Continent, the possession of which in the very nature of things made them the bankers and brokers of all classes.

Pawn-broking is of very ancient origin. It is as old as the social and economic contacts of man. As society became more complex and as personal property gradually became more valuable, it took on a definite status. In its origin it is the simplest form of banking. Both pawn-broking and banking had a common source of origin. They arose out of the

economic pledge which, in its simplest form, was the bailment of one thing for the use of another. As long as society was on a barter and exchange basis, its financial system was primarily of a pawn-broking nature—the pledging of personal effects. The mortgaging of real property, though known at an early date, not only had to await for its development a free use of money coin as a medium of exchange, but it had also to await the break-up of feudalism with its hopelessly entailed estates. In England, where the growth of the Common Law was much in advance of the Continental Church Law, the Jew might secure a mortgage or “gage” on land. But there the Jew seldom if ever, on default in payment, took possession of the “gage.” His rights and privileges pertaining thereto were entirely subject to the king’s license. In England, however, the theory of the inviolability of the law was affecting the status of everyone—from the king down; and from the operation of the principle of the sanctity of the law—of the sacredness of precedent—the Jew was not exempt. He, too, in a way, under the growth of the law, was acquiring fixed rights. Likewise the pledging of personal effects at an early day could not have been very extensive, since not only were they of little value but they too had to await a broader money-economy. Pawn-broking was the banking system of a down-trodden and moneyless people, as it remains today the only system known to the man who possesses neither wealth nor credit.

The tremendous commercial awakening which attended and followed the Crusades greatly stimulated not only the demand for commercial loans but also for personal and private loans. It was soon apparent that the old system of pledging the physical custody of a thing would no longer serve trade merchants. A more liquid and elastic credit system was necessary. With the growth of commerce and the greater use of money as the medium of exchange, the character of collateral offered on loans rose in value, and the higher-class collateral was not only offered, but was quickly demanded by the specie banker. Thus the difference between a banker and a pawn-broker in the Middle Ages lay primarily in the difference in the collateral securing his loan. The banker exacted the highest class of collateral—land and merchandise—while personal effects (the less desirable collateral of the masses) remained largely the subject of chattel banking, pawn-broking. Our modern-day banker is but an evolutionary or commercial development out of this early pawn-broker.

So the “junk” man and the “old clothes” man of the present day are primarily the products of our complex industrial life and of the waste and extravagance of the masses. They too have arisen out of an economic demand. And how comes it that the immigrant Jews have taken to these lines of activity? Though these tasks are the product of an economic demand, the actual accumulation and collection of the articles of waste and disuse are yet



shunned and avoided by all Christian classes. The foreign Jew comes to us already fortified with a knowledge of trade discrimination and restriction gained in the homeland. Moreover, lacking scientific training, he fears industrial antagonism will be manifested against him here. Is this not true? Do we not find him occupationally discriminated against in this day? Do we not find him at times subordinated and restricted? By entering these pursuits, the foreign Jew avoids the avenues of discrimination and restriction his religion and his physiognomy at times invite. And what is more, he escapes the handicaps he labors under; namely, a lack of technical education and a lack of knowledge of our language. To him these tasks are the lines of least resistance. They give him an independence in labor, they afford him his existence, and what is more potent and vital to our democracy than the phenomenon of this Jew accepting the ridicule and contumely of the masses that he may enjoy the liberty of our land?

It was not long before the new merchant class which the Crusades had created, asserted its supremacy on the Continent. Nor was it long before it had developed a financial specie banking class which quickly gained an ascendancy in the financial world. Under the protection of various kings and rulers, the Jews for a time continued to maintain their position of influence in the banking and mercantile life of the Continent. In fact, a small minority never lost it. But with the growth of national-

ism, religious persecutions, and trade rivalry, the favor of the kings and barons was gradually lost to them. With the withdrawal of the kings' protection, and their expulsion from the various countries on the Continent, their position in the banking and commercial world was lost. Their commercial and banking prestige gone, persecuted and expelled from the various countries, victims of pogroms and massacres, denied admittance to the craft and guild associations, and above all badged and made outcasts of society, no recourse remained for the Jews in the economic world other than to turn their energies and activities to the less desirable avenue of finance—the loaning of money on personal property—pawn-broking.

From their earliest history the Jews paid tribute to other nations. Graft is not a modern institution; it is hoary with age. From their first contact with European life, the Jews were victims of tribute and levy. Especially had tribute been paid to the warring dukes and barons for places of residence, trade privileges, and personal security. The pursuits of money-lending and pawn-broking, which the Church from an early day had forced into the hands of the Jews and to which Innocent III had now openly condemned them, were sources of great revenue to the Jews. It was not long before they received an added measure of encouragement and protection in these pursuits from the kings and barons who had not hesitated in the past to seize the wealth of the Jews under any pretext whatsoever. Now, however,

under the guise of trade privileges and personal protection graft became a recognized, as well as an organized, institution of the kings and barons for the extraction of wealth from the Jews. Under them protection soon came to be a synonym for tribute, and tribute in turn became synonymous with all kinds of vicious and vulgar practices, sanctioned and encouraged by the rulers in the hope that the yield would be greater and quicker. Moreover, the rulers, who were always in need of funds and who were ever uncertain of the tax yield, not only forced the Jews to buy in advance the right of collecting the tax, but aided them in its collection and protected them against the wrath of the people. The kings and barons but used the Jews as shields in their extraction of money from the people. What they themselves feared to do directly they effected through the Jews. It was a vile and vicious practice which in the end led to the reproach and condemnation of the Jews by the masses. It was the grafting demands of the kings and barons upon the Jews, as well as the protection and aid they gave them in those operations, that brought about the exploitation of the masses, and cast upon the Jews what seemed like a greedy and grasping nature. After the favor of the kings was withdrawn, the ugly customs and habits, however, which these practices had developed in the Jews, still remained. These could not be abandoned as quickly as the Jews could be forsaken.

Thus protected and encouraged in their work by

the kings and barons, the Jews came to look upon the baser work, the tasks forbidden the Christian, as their field of occupation. Nor is it strange that, with the growth of commerce and with their long servitude in the practices of money-lending and pawn-broking, the Jews should have come to regard those tasks as honorable and trustworthy professions, and that after centuries and centuries of indulgence in those trades, the habits of money-lending and pawn-broking should have become engrafted upon them. While the pursuit of these tasks, for centuries under the direction and protection of the kings and barons, led to the development of many ill and abusive practices, which in turn left their impress upon the social and economic habits of the Jews, these centuries of subjection were not totally degrading. They intensified the development in the Jews of their already acquired habits of patience, courage, and self-reliance which the earlier centuries of Church and State degradation had evidenced. The pursuit of these baser trades gave the Jew, moreover, an insight into human nature and built up in him a spirit of commercial confidence and independence which he retains to this day. It is the assurance the Jew feels in himself that is so vital in his present-day commercial success.

Out of the Lateran Council's edict of condemnation to usury or interest developed, in the following centuries, the present financial and business acumen of the Jews. The adaptive capacity which the Jew had long before displayed in a commercial way now

received a keen development. It underwent an intensive cultivation, primarily because the stress of the times and the spirit of the age called forth a conflict in the activities and pursuits of men, and because both Church and State, by reason of their unfriendly attitudes toward the Jew, forced upon him a continuous intensive cultivation of his commercial capacity. This commercial capacity became that of the group. The fact that the Church and State had always treated the Jews as a class, and rarely on the basis of individualism, resulted in the developing of their trade and financial capacity as a group characteristic, and hence common in the main to all of the time. When the short-sightedness of the Church cast the whole of the money-lending and banking system into the hands of the Jews—by proscribing the taking of interest or usury by the Christian—it was inevitable that with the opening of the commercial age the Jew must attain a state of wealth. That in the most cases he did not retain it matters little; he did, however, develop the capacity to amass it. In time, however, this capacity reacted against him, and in most instances it was cause for added hatred and reproach. This whole process of acquiring a business acumen, the precocity or skill for accumulating wealth, was but the result of a process of specialization. It was no native or God-given gift, merely a forced procedure of certain kinds of endeavor or activities. The Jew had to repeat them over and over again, and suffer many failures and discouragements, before the process resulted in an



intelligent course. It matters not what the earlier history of the Jews may have been, these 1,400 years—and certainly the last 600—of Church ostracism and State degradation were decisive in the development of the present-day habits and capacities of the Jews.

Into the tumult and savagery of the Middle Ages, the Jews carried the old conviction, despite ill feeling held against them, that of being a chosen people, a people of indomitable will and courage, whose faith had antedated all history, and who now challenged Christianity to destroy it. They entered into this new period of life—the life that followed the end of the Roman Empire, when new habits, customs, and manners were being institutionalized in the world—bearing the reproach and disfavor of the Church Fathers, the stigma of the State as expressed in both the Civil and Church law, and with no political right save the will of the ruler; and as if these restrictions were not sufficient, they were stripped of the right to bear arms, limited to the base and proscribed tasks of money-lending and pawn-broking, the objects of plunder and cruelty; and above all, they were badged and cloistered. What was their reaction to all this?

It was the attitude of both the Church and the State of non-assistance, non-association, non-contact with the Jews, and of subjecting them to but the basest forms of commercial life, and to the organization of the Ghetto for the purpose of the better controlling and restricting their activities and associa-

tions with Christians, that led to the growth and development of an intense inner or communal Jewish life in the later Middle Ages. The inner or cultural life of the Jews of the Roman Empire had none of the solidarity and compactness of life which featured their internal life in the Middle Ages. The life of the Empire lacked the narrow, sordid provincialism of their medieval life which ended not only in the squalid Ghetto but in their physical expulsion from the country. The lack of contact with society was fatal to the social habits of the Jews. It engendered and vitalized the life of the Ghetto, the vileness of which but reflected their political and social ostracism. There is little doubt that as the persecutions and expulsions arose, particularly after the Crusades, the Jews, in the hope of maintaining their religious identity, as well as of escaping persecution and violence, not only sought the right of communal life but purchased it; and what is more, the Church and State readily granted it. For was not the Jew an ignoble and debased individual with whom association and intermarriage was prohibited? Segregation was the logical conclusion for the disordered and broken world of the Middle Ages. It satisfied the Church politically and religiously, and permitted the State to control and regulate the social and commercial activities of the Jews effectively. If the Jew exhibited a spirit of clannishness, then it was clannishness born out of the social and political ostracism of an unfriendly world; out of a spirit of punishment the Church would inflict upon the Jews

because of their adherence to their ancestral faith.

What remained of the free and untrammelled life of the Jews ended with the Edicts of Innocent III. And for upwards of 600 years thereafter, the Jews underwent the process of specialization, of perfecting themselves in the science of trade, in money-lending and banking. In the commercial age following the Crusades, the Jews put into service the habits and customs which earlier centuries of fetters and restrictions had developed. Quite naturally they were in many instances not of the most ethical and hospitable character, but throughout all these centuries there had been developing among the Jews the primal characteristics of our modern life. Our modern life is pre-eminently commercial; and the traits that characterize it are imagination, intuitiveness, originality, resourcefulness, sobriety, thrift, and industriousness. These were habits the Jews the more intensively developed under their fettered and restricted life, the many centuries of strife and warfare they were subjected to, and the ages of persecution and expulsion. If after these 600 years of intensive training, the Jews of today should exhibit mercantile and financial capacity, if they should have learned the commercial value of the fundamentals of life, the necessities of man, it is no extraordinary gift or achievement. It is but a normal and natural result of those earlier centuries of commercial and financial habit making. Any people similarly condemned and held for centuries to financing and petty trading would have developed the same characteris-

tics and habits of financial acumen, business sagacity, and an insight into human nature.

The social values of the Jews of today in those lands which have accorded them religious and political freedom need no appreciation. They are written indelibly in the life and history of those nations where the eyes of the unbiased and unprejudiced may learn that the social contributions of the Jews have been neither of a supernatural nor of a debased and inferior character, but that their contributions have been substantially in accord with those of all other men.

## CHAPTER VIII

### WHY JUDAISM IS INDESTRUCTIBLE

THE greatest service that has been rendered to mankind by the Jews of the past is to be found in the indestructibility of Judaism. Herein lies an assurance of religious faith for mankind as long as life endures. However vital material things may become in life, the spiritual, in the last analysis, must prevail. And the material world must ever rest upon the indestructibility of man's spiritual life, for it is the spiritual life which repeatedly renews us. The spiritual life it is that we are ever striving to attain. Modern materialism, which would deprive man of his belief in the hereafter by substituting empiricism as a mode of perfection, must remain a barren, fruitless bough. Though religion can never be more than a sketch, a picture, an abridgement of events, it is fatal for man to see human nature in its worldly aspects alone. Religious experience is as much a reality for man as is his relations with other things, and if we omit religion from our interpretation of the universe, in our task of seeking an adjusting among the various conflict-

ing factors of life, we fail in one of our most vital functions. No philosophy can serve mankind which fails to posit the spiritual life.

The indestructibility of Judaism rests primarily on the truth of its basic religious concepts, and on its historical associations with Christianity.

The Unity of God and the Ten Commandments remain the foundations of all Judaic religious thought. These are the bed-rock principles of the Jewish religious conscience; these are the tenets of Judaic theology. Only by destroying them can you destroy Judaism, and to destroy them would entail the destruction of all faith. It would be like undermining the foundations of the religious structure of the world, and having the whole edifice topple to the ground.

Judaism presents the most striking development of all religions, passing through the whole range of progress from savagery to civilization. Modern-day Judaism, however, does not abound in historical superstitions, spirits, or myths. Undoubtedly the Jews of ancient time had their religious myths and mysteries, their secret religious symbols and ceremonies, together with all the other ancestral tradition and folk law that clothed the religions of the surrounding peoples. The religions of the neighboring peoples not only during the Alexandrian Age but long before, were either based on myths, ancestral or hero worship. All these were but varying expressions in the unfolding drama of life. Yet on them the higher primitive man built



his religion. And in their early history the Jews could not have worshipped without them. It is impossible to believe that, when the rest of the world held myths and mysticism as the basis of their religious thinking, the Jews were without knowledge of and belief in them.

The ancient Semites held the rivers, springs, stones, caves, and animals—particularly the latter—sacred. The mountains and brooks, birds and flocks were likewise regarded as mysterious and divine. They worshipped the jinn or demon of the wilderness over which Solomon is supposed to have had magic power; their tribal names show that they formed no exception to the rule of attempting to get in contact with superhuman powers. The question naturally arises: why could not the religions of the Alexandrian Age and of the Greco-Roman world survive? Why should they have declined, while Judaism remained? It was because the religions of these periods possessed no axiomatically true religious concepts. There was no foundation in these religions upon which an enduring structure might be raised. They were incapable of organization and development. They lacked an evolutionary character.

The incapacity for sustained organization and development in the Alexandrian religious cults and mysteries, as well as their lack of an evolutionary character, became apparent immediately upon the exposition of the myth or mystery. Mysticism is the great philosophic principle of religious thought.

It has come down through all the ages—from the earliest fear and wonder inspired in man by the elements of nature. Religion, to satisfy mankind, must possess mysticism. But the mysticism must be free from proof of impossibility and must not contradict the human understanding. It must be woven around the rational. It must be an everlasting principle of life on which man can indefinitely hope and build. The mythical and mystery religions of the Greco-Roman world were based upon the supposed truth of the mystery or story around which it centered, and on the failure of the myth, upon demonstration, to produce the promised ends, its falsity became apparent and the religion fell. Beyond the story, the religion of mythology had nothing to offer. There was nothing about it to which one could cling; it possessed no basically true doctrine which tended toward the betterment of mankind. It possessed no developmental or constructive base upon which a growing intellectual world could build. The expanding or evolutionary process of life wiped it out.

Now the history of Judaism has been quite the contrary. The ancient Greek thought embodied a deep spiritual mysticism in its mythological faith. But this spiritual thought, attained in the worship of mythical gods, bound itself with the success of physical efforts, whereas the concept of the Jews was a spiritual faith unaccountable to and undetermined by worldly success. As the Jews progressed, their social life, carrying this concept of

the early Hebrew prophets—that man needs no worldly success in order to attain the favor of Jehovah—assumed a definite form. They developed a social consciousness centering around the spiritual things of life. And while they had myths and mysteries in their early religious thought, the Jews gradually dropped them, threw them aside, as their intelligence conceived the Unity of God. Hence the loss of the myth and mystery in no way destroyed the faith of the Jewish people, because in the evolutionary process which wiped away the fables and traditions and ancestral stories, the Jews evolved out of them—yes! out of their belief in the Covenant—call it a myth if you wish, the tremendous spiritual concept of the Unity of God. That theory, axiomatically true, persisted; it would not die. Nor would the Jews, once they had conceived it, abandon it. It was a rallying point to which the consciousness of the whole people turned; it was the truth of that religious concept, conceived and developed centuries before Alexander, that enabled Judaism to live while the heathen religions of the Greco-Roman world gradually declined.

The concept of the Unity of God is imperishable; it is indestructible. From its very conception, it has continued to evolve and to become bigger and bigger until today the thought of the Unity of God encompasses the whole religious world. It is this concept that has marked Judaism throughout all ages. It is this concept with which Judaism is forever associated. The concept of the Unity of God

is an everlasting principle of all religion that will continue indefinitely. It is impossible to conceive of a religion today possessing any hope of continuity, of withstanding the evolutionary process of an intellectually expanding world, that could announce any theory other than the Unity of God. How vital has been this concept in the history of man! Once mankind had reached the thought of a Unity of God, the pivot for the brotherhood of man was found; it is the rallying point about which society has ever tended, in its march to the goal of a higher and more universal civilization.

With the pivot of civilization found in the concept of the Unity of God, Judaism underlies every modern religion. Not only has every religion built on it, but every religion has adopted and made part of its creed the basic concepts of Judaism. A further question naturally arises: Why has Judaism, its theology philosophically true, failed as the dominant, professed religion of mankind?

Judaism's failure lay in its omission to bring the masses into direct contact with their God. The thought of contact with Deity is one of the earliest religious concepts of man. It is as old as the concept of Deity itself. In it is embodied not only the idea of self-preservation but of salvation. For primitive man, idol-worship and hero-worship centered around the totem or food supply—its preservation—and around taboo—his protection. The whole history of primitive man shows an association of his spiritual thought with his physical needs. It is

only after a slow and tedious intellectual growth that man's physical environment is subordinated to his moral and spiritual development. The theory of idol- and hero-worship, for the Jews as for the rest of mankind, was but primitive man's hope of a preservation of worldly contact with Deity, the hope of a mediation of the power of the idol or hero to the follower.

The idea of contact with Deity, however, was constantly assuming a higher form in the thought of man. The marvelous system of mythological gods developed by the ancient Greek world was but a spiritual refinement of primitive man's hope of contact with his hero. Judaism, in the development of its concept of a Unity of God, in its concept of a One and only spiritual God, swept away all idol and hero contact. The pagan world, however, was not ready for this drastic and supreme concept. Certainly not when with its conception was associated the idea of a chosen people. To the pagan mind the concept of the Unity of God seemed to take Deity away from it; to the individual it seemed to rob him of his protection. The myth-loving, idol-worshipping heathen found a direct contact with his God in the very idol or hero he worshipped. It was impossible to deprive him of his idol god. To him his idol god could only be withdrawn by the substitution of another, even though that idol should be the emperor. To the heathen or pagan mind, the hope of personal contact with his Deity was inalienable.

It was not a difficult thing to advance from the state of idol- or hero-worship to that of emperor-worship. The one was a legitimate outgrowth of the other. Emperor-worship was but an elaboration of the idea of hero-worship. In it was continued the idea of contact with Deity, with the hero. To primitive man the hero or leader, as the provider and protector of the group, soon took on god-like qualities—qualities of reverence and worship. Prayer, ceremonials, and a ritual soon found place in his thought. Originally hero-worship, but a clan or group environmental concept, was carried along with the growth of the group until it developed into a nationalistic ideal. Hero-worship reached its climax in the worship of the god-emperor, who also symbolized, for the masses, their sustenance and protection. Hero-worship and emperor-worship were logically the faith of those who for any reason were unable to perceive the unity and universality of a One and only spiritual God. It was but natural that in the absence of a unified spiritual belief, the concept of their God should assume a concrete or human form, and that fundamentally it should signify an expression of the physical rather than of the spiritual and moral world.

For the Romans, however, emperor-worship was more particularly a development of the Greek concept of reality for their God. It was but part of the Hellenic culture adopted by the Romans. Under Augustus Caesar, the thought of emperor-worship became definitely fixed with the ancient Judaic con-



cept of the divine character of the monarchy. Particularly was this true in the provinces where it displaced many, though not all, of the mythological cults. In Rome itself, the deification of the living emperor was never fully attained. Here it not only met the opposition of various political factions but also the open protestations of Judaism, and later of Christianity. With the rise of Christianity, worship of the emperor became primarily a matter of political edict. By the followers of the emperor, it was regarded as a test of citizenship. Spiritually, however, it still served a large part of the masses as a religious expression, in their opposition to both Judaism and Christianity.

Idol-worship, however, reached the state of disillusionment for the masses in the worship of the emperor. In the worship of the emperor, the heathen thought he saw his God, to whom he might not only appeal but also bring his wrongs for redress. It was the most direct contact with his God that the pagan world had known. It was now that man thought he could weigh his grievances with God. The utter inability of the emperor to give relief from suffering and distress led the heathen world to frown upon him as the god of worship. It was this feature that gradually enabled the heathen mind to shift from emperor worship to the belief in the absoluteness or universality of a spiritual rather than a mortal God.

The history of the religious psychology of primitive man, throughout all his stages, is one of con-

tact with his Deity; and at the root of Christianity lies this basic principle of contact with Jesus. Though the Christian, like the Jew, refused to acknowledge the divinity of the emperor or to worship him as such, he found a more personal contact with the divinity that Christianity conceived to be the true one: Jesus. Judaism, however, would not abandon its original position of non-particularization of Deity, a thing it believed was forbidden by the Mosaic Law. Here lay a vital and fundamental difference between the two religions. Christianity developed a more appealing religious psychology—a religious psychology in which it retained the earlier thought of a direct contact with Deity. It was this thought of contact with Deity which enabled Christianity, in later years, not only to outstrip Judaism but to form itself into a social and political institution.

The characteristic thing about Judaism is its lack of particularization of Deity. In the Judaic consciousness of the Unity of God the Jews view the Almighty as One—in contrast with the many Gods of paganism—as a God of infinite wisdom, power, and love governing all mankind. It leaves Deity with no particularization as to person, structure, or being. In other words, Deity is found in so broad and universal a concept as to include the Deity of all other denominations, and not only those now designated but also those which may hereafter be made of Deity.

The limitation of Deity is a modification or

abridgement of the Judaic concept of the universality of God. Now the instant we attempt to circumscribe Deity, we make a limitation upon it; and it is this fact of limiting Deity, or attempting to designate it, which must eternally invite opposition. No theological principle can historically stand which attempts to limit Deity in any particular phase or concept. There will always be some individuals to whom such limitation is not acceptable. Moreover, it matters not what the limitation or designation placed upon Deity may be, the Judaic concept of the universality of God includes it. It is this feature, the universality of Deity without any limitation or designation, that makes Judaism indestructible.

While the lack of particularization or designation of Deity is a philosophically true and everlastingly indestructible principle of religious concept, it yet possesses a social weakness in that its religious psychology lacks an appealing force for the masses. The great mass of mankind are attracted to an association with Deity, and the more closely Deity is personified with them, the more attractive Deity is to them and the more devotedly are they held. It is a tremendous thing for mankind to feel its close relationship with Deity; and the great source of their joy and relief lies in the very fact that Deity is particularized and conceived of concretely and appreciatively. The abstract conception of Deity is never grasped so readily by the mass of mankind as is the particularization of Deity in a direct con-

crete form. The Christ concept, with his human setting, is a far more appealing divine objective to the consciousness and reverence of the great mass of mankind than is the more abstract, though philosophically true, Deity of Judaism. It is not a question of the truth of Christian or Judaic theology, it is merely a question of which concept of Deity appeals the more readily to mankind, and which psychologically holds the reverence of the masses the more.

And it is the particularization of Deity in Jesus which is responsible for the tremendous development of Christianity. The possibility for his believers of getting into close association and contact with Deity, of becoming a part of, of associating with and knowing their Deity—the very thing all mankind seeks and desires—and the very fact that the great mass of Christians can see an earthly likeness or representation of their God, is the factor that builds up their conscious love for Deity. In this sense Christianity has met the religious psychology of its people to a much greater extent than has Judaism; it apparently has met their wants, their desires, their hopes, in the presentation of Deity as an object which satisfies both their emotions and intellect. The full realization of Judaism, however, must await a more enlightened world—an uncertain and problematical thing. Judaism must find ultimate content in its knowledge of having given the light unto all men, and in the hope that Judaism, dis-

sociated from race and people, may ultimately become a faith acceptable to all mankind.

The lack of a human spiritual authority has been a cardinal virtue in Judaism. In this very nature exists not only the democracy of man but his freedom—the right of man to choose what unity he will with his God. With this union permitted him he is free in all his earthly thinking.

The Judaic concept of Divine Revelation precluded the development, in the thought of the people, of an earthly spiritual head. Their concept of Revelation, the direct interposition of Deity on earth, permitted of no such thought. The Judaic concept of revelation, in which Deity directly intervened in worldly affairs, placed all divine power in Deity. This thought was strengthened by the fact that the Commandments were of so simple and fundamental a nature as to permit of little strife amongst the people, and hence to require no final human authority to expound or uphold them. Moreover, the internal political struggles of the Kingdom seldom invoked the fundamental spiritual concepts of the people, though they did at times call in question their social practices and their observance of the law. The lack of a central spiritual authority in Judaism gave rise to the power and influence of the Rabbis, each one of whom in his interpretation of the Scriptures became a final authority. Judaism was thus a religion of tremendous democracy and decentralized authority. It was administered not by one ultimate authority but by a great number of



co-equal authoritative interpreters. In marked contrast with this scattered and many-sided authority is the great strength of Catholicism—the authority of the Bishop of Rome. In its concept of free-will, and in the decentralization of its human spiritual authority, Judaism is again indestructible.

Once Deity is particularized, it necessitates the construction of dogmas, or theories of explanation. The indestructibility of Judaism again rests upon its lack of dogmas, or theoretic expressions of Deity. It is the dogma or theory of a religion which constantly invites attack. It is, therefore, not improbable that the distant future will witness a more vital dogmatic dissension in Christianity than has yet occurred. On the contrary, the future holds no fear for the axiomatic religious concepts of Judaism. The great threats, however, that overhang Judaism and the Jews, are political dissension and religious negation. Judaism is indestructible, but are the Jews as a religious body indestructible?

The evolutionary character of Judaism is another of its indestructible characteristics. No matter what stage of civilization we accept, Judaism is not only found but has fitted into the social, economic, and political life of the age in question. The lack of an appealing religious psychology, however, was keenly felt by Judaism in its early struggle with Christianity. As a proselytizing religion, Judaism failed with the masses. With many of the more enlightened people it succeeded, but with the downtrodden, heavy laden, wearied masses, its conception of Deity was



too distant. In all crises of the world's history, Judaism has stood adamant in its steadfast adherence to the universality of God. All mankind might at any time turn to Judaism and find it breathing its faith in a single omniscient, omnipotent God.

The influence of Judaism still persists, and while Judaism lacks the personal religious aspect that Christianity possesses, yet Christianity tends more and more today to remove its mystical aspects. Compactness and solidarity are its engrossing forms, and it is ever an increasing projection of Jesus into the realities and nationalism of life.

The indestructibility of Judaism, again, rests on its historical associations with Christianity. These associations have been ably set forth by our modern theological writers. They are constantly being enlarged upon, and the importance of the associations are ever becoming clearer and clearer. The thing that has saved Judaism from death, and that renders it indestructible, is the truth of its spiritual and ethical concepts. These are intensified by the fact that Christianity's original founders, as well as Jesus himself, breathed into Christianity the spiritual and ethical teachings of Judaism. Jesus and his followers not only professed the Jewish faith but proclaimed and advised adherence to its doctrines and principles. It was the only faith they knew. Judaism is inexorably bound up with Christianity. You cannot destroy one without the other. You can no more dissociate Judaism from Christianity than you can Christ from Judaism. It was

in the knowledge of Judaism's gift of Jesus and Christianity to the world that Judaism in the past was indestructible; and it is in that knowledge that Judaism remains indestructible.

In the Judaic thought of the Messiah lay the fundamental beginnings of Christianity. As we have noted before, the Messianic belief of the Jews at the time of Jesus lay in two thoughts: the National or Davidic, believed by the Pharisees; and the Revealed or Apocalyptic hope entertained by the masses. The National or Davidic hope was born out of the ancient splendor of Jerusalem under the Kings, David and Solomon; it lay primarily in the hope of a divine military leader who would restore the ancient Kingdom of David. The Apocalyptic hope of the people, on the other hand, lay in the divine moral and spiritual redemption of man. Only after the hopes of the nation had finally disappeared in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, did the Apocalyptic or Revealed hope of a spiritual Messiah become dominant in the thought of the masses. The early importance for Christianity of this Apocalyptic or Revealed hope of the Jews, may be clearly seen in the fact that the early Christians maintained that in the resurrection of Christ, the Apocalyptic or Revealed Messiah of the Jews had come; that Jesus had been liberated from the abode of the dead and had reunited with the body and risen to heaven, just as it was supposed Enoch and Elijah had done before, and that the Spirit was upon them.

This thought of the apostles that they had been endowed with the Spirit of the Holy Ghost in the fulfillment of the Messiah, was a purely Jewish thought. It had found expression in Isaiah's description of the Messianic kingdom, "the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of Yahweh." This the apostles now applied to the apocalyptic Messiah. Nor was the thought of the exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God anything other than pure Jewish thought. The Old Testament described the Elect One sitting upon a throne of God with the spirit of righteousness cast over Him; and His subjects, likewise, endowed with the spirit.

The ignominy of the death of Jesus, however, had put in question his Messiahship. It was useless for the disciples to undertake the work of evangelization without the death of Jesus being definitely fixed. To this work Peter set himself. His Pentecostal Address consists of the earliest existing Christian explanation of the resurrection. The address is full of primitive Jewish Christianity. Peter argued that the sixteenth Psalm foretold the resurrection of the Messiah and that in Judaic prophecy lay the necessity for the Messiah to ascend to heaven and sit at the right hand of God. This he claimed was evidenced by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which was but the old Jewish concept of the effect of the light or face of the Almighty cast upon one. And likewise when Peter proclaimed that in the

“gift of tongues” was a divine manifestation of the Holy Spirit, it was but the common Judaic thought of the time that in the coming of the Messiah the Holy Spirit would mediate its supernatural power unto his followers. All of Peter’s Messianic conceptions were those common in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

The Judaic beginnings of Christianity again appear clearly in the missionary work and thought of the disciples. The early Christian missionaries were seeking converts to Christianity in the guise of Judaism. They merely sought the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism. They entertained no thought of breaking from or dissociating themselves from Judaism. On the contrary, the disciples, convinced of the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus, began to preach among their Jewish kinsmen that the day of judgment was near, and that all who failed to repent and believe in the Messiahship of Jesus would be condemned. This message was delivered in the synagogues, in the schools, and wherever hearers might be secured. At first this message was proclaimed as a consummation of the Jewish faith, and not as a new religion. This thought reflected itself fully in the life of the age.

At the birth of Christianity the unity of the two faiths reflected itself fully in the life of the people. The predecessors of Christianity were all Jewish and very largely Palestinian. It was from this source that the apostles drew their initial religious inspiration which later came to be distinguished from

Judaism and to be known as Christianity. There, in the strictest accord with Jewish life and customs, they discharged their religious duties, participated in Temple worship and in the offering of sacrifices. Paul's experience with the Jews evidenced the fact that for many years after the death of Christ a great number of Christians continued to devote themselves zealously to the laws and traditions of their ancestors. In fact, with the conception of Christ as the Messiah they became more devout and earnest Jews than ever before.

The fact that Jesus and Paul and Peter were strong and forceful personalities, and that they appropriated in their new religious concept the fundamental beliefs of contemporary Judaism, in no way vitiated the Christian movement. Jesus and Paul coordinated their activity with the life of the day in a fresh and vital spiritual attainment. Necessarily, such attainment was conditioned by their past religious training and environment. The worth of Christianity lay in the manner that Jesus and his followers attempted to minister to the religious needs of the times, irrespective of whether it was by old or new methods. Their work lay in their zeal and vigorous activity rather than in the creation of a new body of religious content.

The requirements of the apostles before the Gentile, could become a Christian, clearly indicate that their fundamental concept of Christianity was Judaic. Before a Gentile could become a Christian he had to renounce idolatry; believe in the God of



the Jews; accept the teaching relative to the Messiahship of Jesus; receive baptism and live in the expectation of imminent judgment. In fact, their expectation of an early day of judgment led them to share their goods in common with their Jewish neighbors. It occurred, however, to some of the Palestinian Christians that the Gentile converts were being admitted into Christianity too freely. They believed that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah and that his coming was in conformity with the "truest" Judaism. Hence they contended that before the Gentile could share in the new salvation he must first be initiated into Judaism, and that circumcision was the primary requisite. Inspired with this belief, conservative Christian missionaries went out preaching to the Gentiles that circumcision was necessary to insure Christian salvation. Other Christian missionaries did not share this opinion, and thus, in its early stages, Christianity was disturbed by the rise of the Gentile problem: was circumcision necessary before a Gentile could be received into Christianity?

The Jerusalem Council seems to have disposed of the Gentile question in its support of the position of the apostles Paul and Barnabas who were claiming many converts from Paganism without exacting the rites of circumcision. The Council issued so-called decrees setting forth the conditions to be observed by Gentile Christians, where the latter refused circumcision and ignored the Jewish ceremonial laws. These decrees provided that the



Gentile Christians were to abstain from idolatry; they were not to attend the heathen feasts; they must not eat flesh of an animal from which the blood had not been drawn; nor were they to eat the blood as food. All of them were strictly Jewish concepts.

Before the fall of Jerusalem, Jewish Christianity had begun to lose its significance in the developing expansion of the new faith. Three main tendencies had developed: one favored the wider and broader Gentile propaganda, dispensing with circumcision and observing non-Jewish practices. A second drift occurred in James's party who favored the enrollment of converts uncircumcised, but who still insisted that Jewish Christians ought to adhere strictly to their ritualistic requirements. The third tendency demanded that Gentile converts comply with all the requirements of the Jewish law before being admitted into Christianity. The revolt of 68-70 A. D., together with the political disturbances culminating in the second Jewish revolt of 132-135 A. D., destroyed in the main whatever contact remained between Gentile and Jewish Christianity.

The democratization of religion which has followed in the wake of the epochal events of the past few years has given us a new perspective of religious values. In the past, religious concepts of life were few and utterly free from the modern complexity of social life. They were but masters of group activity, with little thought given to the concrete nature of society. The democratization of modern society, however, has not only loosened the

bond of group solidarity but has been characterized by a revaluation or appreciation of human nature. Its great achievement has been the awakening of the social consciousness in the ordinary man.

The problem, however, which confronts Judaism and Christianity under this new democracy, is the same problem that confronts all other religions—namely, what does each give toward the betterment of mankind? It is no longer a theoretic or idealistic thing that the world demands from religion, but a concrete materialistic betterment of man that is sought. The democratization of religion calls for a moral, physical, and mental betterment of the people. Not that the religions of the past have failed! In the anthology of life they have rendered man invaluable service. But today for the first time, the whole civilized world is tending toward a common religious standpoint, and the common test of the future which awaits all religious faiths is decisively factual: does its spirituality reflect itself in the daily avenues of life, in the mental duties and habits, and in the social and moral contributions of men to mankind?

One of the natural instincts found among all men is the herding instinct, the desire for companionship, the need to live and associate with one's fellow-men. It is this instinct which has given rise to group life among men, to fraternalism, and to the brotherhood of man. And to whatever page in history we turn, we shall find that no more bril-

liant achievement lights the pages of civilization than the development of harmony among men, or the brotherhood of man.

There is but one underlying social principle that governs the maintenance and existence of harmony among them in this day. Various and complex as life is—differing so widely in each of us—it is ever interconnecting. Society progresses collectively. Man's progress is determined by the achievement of the mass, not by the lone superman. Yet no man in this day and generation can hope to accomplish single-handed all that he desires. Nor can any man or group of men hope to have his or its will or faith acquiesced, in every fact. Success today in any course, be it political, social, or religious, follows him who can combine his strength with the strength of his fellow-men. It is the willingness of man to reconcile his views with those of his fellow-men that underlies the brotherhood of man.

Fraternalism or the brotherhood of man implies a common effort, a common purpose. And in this day what is the common purpose of Judaism and Christianity? It is nothing short of the salvation of man, nothing short of the perpetuation of religion to mankind! The great task of civilization is to co-ordinate man's attainment of his physical wants with an ever expanding moral and spiritual growth. Judaism and Christianity are indissolubly linked. Both Christianity and Judaism must throw aside the past which has been full of bitterness and

denunciation; they must recognize the need of and value in each other in the life of the day; they must link their forces in an inter-denominational work and strike out boldly with the common purpose of making all religion a service and betterment to man.







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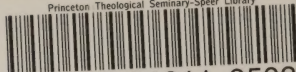
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